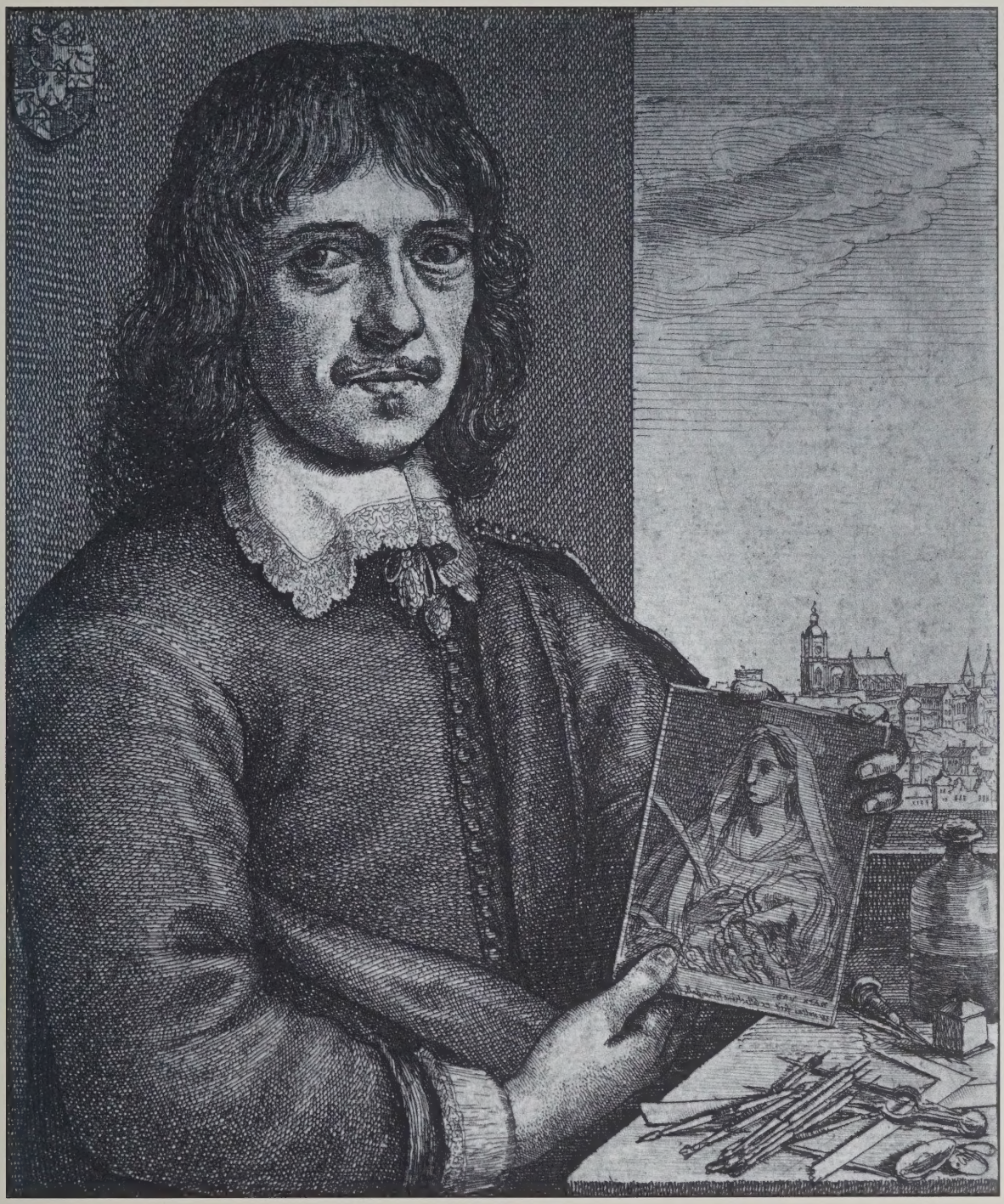


Caterpillars and Cathedrals

THE ART OF WENCESLAUS HOLLAR

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
University of Toronto

https://archive.org/details/caterpillarscath00holl

Caterpillars and Cathedrals

THE ART OF WENCESLAUS HOLLAR

Exhibition and Catalogue by Anne Thackray

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto

25 January – 30 April 2010

ISBN 978-0-7727-6071-5

Catalogue and exhibition by Anne Thackray
General Editor Anne Dondertman
Exhibition installed by Linda Joy
Digital photography by Bogda Mickiewicz and Paul Armstrong
Catalogue designed by Stan Bevington
Catalogue printed by Coach House Press

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION

Caterpillars and cathedrals : the art of Wenceslaus Hollar / exhibition and catalogue by Anne Thackray.

Includes bibliographical references.
Catalogue of an exhibition, 25 January–30 April 2010
at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library.
ISBN 978-0-7727-6071-5

1. Hollar, Wenceslaus, 1607-1677—Exhibitions. I. Thackray, Anne
II. Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library III. Title.

NE2047.6.H64A4 2010 769.92 C2009-907435-4

Preface

The collection of Wenceslaus Hollar etchings is among the most important research collections held by the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library and one of the largest collections of its kind in the world. It was put together by Sidney Fisher of Montreal and donated to the University of Toronto late in 1972 in anticipation of the opening of the Fisher Library early in 1973. Sidney had become interested in Hollar because of his work on Shakespeare which resulted in his great collection of the cornerstone of English Literature, also donated at the time of the opening of the Fisher Library. Sidney realized that Hollar had moved to London not long after the death of Shakespeare and before the Great Fire forever altered the architectural landscape of that city. Thus Hollar was able to depict Shakespeare's London both before and after the fire and his 'long views' remain his best known images. However, as the exhibition and catalogue by Anne Thackray so ably demonstrate Hollar's enormous body of work included many other subjects: court ceremonies, natural history, people, and animals. The prints are thus very appealing to a wide range of artistic sensibilities and can be studied by scholars in many different disciplines. One of the great strengths of the Fisher Hollar Collection, apart from its range, is the large number of variant states, which allows the student to study the artist's techiques in detail and further appreciate his artistry and his immense skill.

It is a pleasure and honour to present this exhibition and very satisfying to have the complete collection available in digital form on the library's website.

Richard Landon
Director
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

This catalogue is dedicated to my mother Mrs. Therese Thackray, etcher.

Introduction

Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677) is a printmaker whose quiet art rewards a closer look. It was summed up by his biographer Richard Pennington as 'plain, straightforward, unaffected, natural....A tranquil, unaffected realism'.[1] It is true that much of Hollar's work appears, on initial inspection, to be straightforward reportage: naturalistic representations of objects, people, animals, places, or of another artist's work. Further study of many Hollar prints, however, shows that on occasion Hollar can be anything but plain and straightforward. One of his most highly-developed skills was the ability to make the imaginary appear convincingly real.

I hope this exhibition encourages visitors to engage more closely with Hollar's prints, to discover for themselves how much his subtle, seemingly simple art can offer. His career has been covered in a number of publications, perhaps most succinctly in Richard Pennington's introductory biography in his *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar* (Cambridge, 1982). In this exhibition, it is traced through catalogue entries for individual prints.

Hollar is still far from being a household name in Europe, let alone Canada. There is nothing in Hollar comparable to the drama, emotional power and technical freedom of Rembrandt's *The Death of the Virgin* (1639), or the nightmarish war reportage of Jacques Callot's *Les misères et les malheurs de la guerre* (1630–1635). Hollar often etched designs drawn by other men, or designs he copied from other artists. That is, he often worked as a 'reproductive' printmaker rather than as a '*peintre-graveur*', i.e. an original graphic artist of the type so admired by nineteenth-century European connoisseurs.[2] Until recently, reproductive printmaking received less attention from art historians than other forms of artistic expression in Early Modern Europe.

Hollar did make original, innovative prints himself, as this exhibition will show. He certainly knew about Rembrandt - in 1634 he had copied Rembrandt's etching of *A Naked Woman* (ca. 1631), making his own etching of it in 1635.[3] Rembrandt may have returned the compliment in his shell etching, which was probably inspired by Hollar's. Hollar was even identified (or misidentified) as a Rembrandt collector in the 1700s.[4] He also copied Callot prints of beggars and *Commedia dell'Arte* figures, imitating Callot's distinctive etching line.[5]

Hollar had to make many reproductive prints to earn a living in the commercial London print market.[6] During his lifetime, even the royal painters Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) and Peter Lely (1618–1680), operating at the very top of the British art market, were restricted in their choice of work, producing more portraits than history paintings.

Hollar lived through the transformation of the English print market from small-scale production (largely of portrait prints and maps), to a commercial market where printsellers ran bigger businesses, selling prints featuring a wider range of subjects. Nevertheless, Hollar's pre-Civil War association with an aristocratic English patron, the Earl of Arundel, remained a key factor in his career even after the Restoration.

The circumstances of Hollar's life both shaped his art and restricted it. He was born in Prague, Bohemia (the modern Czech Republic) in 1607. Forced to emigrate in 1628 for his Protestantism, he belonged to the diaspora of artistic talent driven across international borders by the Catholic Counter-Reformation, transforming Early Modern European art. As a fledgling printmaker, Hollar initially traveled through France, Germany and Holland, learning his trade as he went.

His life was changed forever by an encounter in 1636 with a traveling embassy led by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), one of the greatest English collectors and art patrons. Thanks to this single encounter outside England, Hollar found himself in the best available niche for an etcher in pre-Civil War London. He worked under Arundel's protection, blessed with the private patron best able to offer him an artistic education, and to appreciate his work. Arundel not only liked the still-new medium of etching when most collectors still favoured engravings, but allowed Hollar to copy from his collections. Hollar was even able to etch prints after Arundel's fabulous drawing collection, at a time when making prints of drawings was still rare.

The arrangement was shortlived. In 1639, Arundel led Charles I's army north to Scotland, and in 1642 left England forever. Thereafter, Hollar's art developed in relation to commercial market conditions. He attempted to publish his own prints, first in Antwerp and then in London, while still working for publishers on the open market. Finally, from the 1650s he settled into a London career in book illustration, reproductive printmaking, and map production, working for authors

and publishers like John Ogilby, William Dugdale, and Elias Ashmole.

Even at mid-century the British print market was still less developed than that in Italy, France, the Spanish Netherlands or United Provinces (Holland).[7] Conditions for printmakers remained difficult, though marketable subject-matter had expanded beyond the small portrait prints and maps dominating the early seventeenth-century market.[8] Few printmakers could afford to spend long hours working on any single print, because of high production costs and the limited profitability of expensive prints. Printmaking materials (copperplates and fine paper – still imported from the continent, and therefore subject to import duties) remained expensive. Piracy was routine, reducing profits from fine prints, despite royal grants of 'privilege' intended to forbid print-copying. As most English customers could not afford expensive prints, cheaper ones predominated such as broadsheet-type prints illustrated with woodcuts, or etchings printed from small copperplates. (Many of Hollar's prints are small). Print publishers cut costs where it was easiest: by reducing payments to etchers and engravers.

For a printmaker, the alternative to churning out small prints for a print publisher like Peter Stent was to sell a finished printing plate to a publisher, or to publish prints from it himself. Hollar was no John Ogilby (few people are), but he certainly tried to become independent. His 1666 letter to John Aubrey demonstrates the difficulties. Hollar borrowed money from Aubrey to cover production costs, for a portrait print of Thomas Hobbes based on a painting owned by Aubrey. Hollar had planned to sell the copperplate to Stent – but Stent refused it. All Hollar could do was apologize and send Aubrey back his Hobbes portrait, with some of the prints from the unwanted plate.[9]

Working for Stent, on Stent's terms, often meant working to somebody else's design. Stent lacked access to private capital, generally raised by English publishers through recruiting subscribers for prints or books, or by finding a private patron.[10] His publishing operation therefore functioned on profits from selling affordable prints and books to moderately prosperous customers. Stent kept down costs by amassing a stock of printing plates from other publishers on a massive scale, recycling the same designs for years. When he did commission a new set of prints, it might be a collaborative project designed and etched by a stable of printmakers and designers, including Hollar. Working for Stent or his successor John Overton, Hollar etched designs by Francis Barlow (1626?–1702) for

Severall Wayes of Hunting, Hawking, and Fishing, According to the English Manner. Invented by Francis Barlow. Etched by W: Hollar (London, 1671). Hollar himself designed prints in the same set, etched by Richard Gaywood (fl. 1644–1668). Barlow and Hollar were both famous enough that their names appeared on the title page, presumably to increase sales.

Most prints Stent sold would have been acquired for what they depicted, rather than as a particular artist's work. Originality or autograph workmanship was not always essential in an era when even artists learned by copying prints, and collectors often contented themselves with copies. A single image of a flower or an animal could have a long life, re-printed from the original plates, refreshed by later printmakers, and ultimately copied and reissued for generations.[11]

Financial self-sufficiency would have freed Hollar more often from reproductive printmaking, to make more original designs. He probably realized this, as in the 1660s he began an elevated map-view of London inspired by Jacques Gomboust's celebrated *Plan de Paris* (1652), issuing a prospectus to attract subscribers. Though expensive, Hollar's huge 'Plan' would have found buyers among aristocrats returning to Restoration London, providing him with an income for life, and perhaps a royal pension. The Great Fire of London in 1666 reduced large areas of the City to ashes, rendering Hollar's work obsolete before it had even been completed.

Nevertheless, Hollar produced some of the finest prints of the century, even in Interregnum England. His own talent would have brought him important commissions by this time, but his old patronage relationship with the Earl of Arundel, who had died in 1646, still helped him. As King Charles I's Earl Marshal, Arundel had directed the College of Arms, Britain's leading heraldic authority. From 1650, Hollar illustrated costly folio books, several written by authors connected with Arundel through the College. Each illustration was financed by a donor - a subscription system that by spreading patronage among many people, effectively, continued the old economic model into post-Civil War printmaking and publishing. Most of Hollar's larger commissions came from Royalists, though he also worked for Parliamentarians. It doubtless appealed to Royalists that Hollar had served Arundel, and had probably taught drawing to the Duke of York (the future James II). In 1655, the Royalist Sir Edward Walker (1612–1677) wrote to William Dugdale regarding a plate for Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*,

(London, 1655) '...if it bee to be done let me speedily know, and I will employ my old friend Mr Hollart to do it...'.[12] Hollar was indeed an 'old friend' to Walker, who had been the Earl of Arundel's secretary on that 1636 embassy through Germany, when Hollar first joined Arundel's household.

As Hollar could earn five pounds for a large book illustration, he could devote much time to each one, and consequently they contain some of his finest work. The high rate paid for large book illustrations reflected the fact that illustrated folio books were extremely expensive. John Ogilby's *Fables of Aesop* (London, 1668) cost three pounds, even unbound. (Customers normally bought books unbound, then had them bound to their specifications, further increasing the final cost).[13] Three pounds was a large outlay in the mid-1660s, when the average annual income for a family, clergyman or scholar was fourteen to twenty-five pounds. The average labourer earned one to three shillings a day.[14] Hence the folio books exhibited here were only for the rich - or the lucky. Civil servant Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) bought a winning ticket in one of John Ogilby's book lotteries, so took home an Ogilby *Aesop* (London, 1665) and *The Entertainment of Charles I... in his Passage through the City of London to his Coronation* (London, 1662).[15] Ironically, Pepys could have afforded the books at retail price.

The consistently high quality of Hollar's work through all vicissitudes is remarkable, as is the variety of his production. At every period of his career, Hollar produced memorable images. He made prints of architecture, costume, landscape and urban topography, maps and elevated views of cities, shipping, monuments, history, current events, classical mythology, sports, natural history, portraits, heraldry, numismatics, decorative arts, drawings, and religious subjects. He could produce superb graphic images several feet long - as in his great 'Long View' of London - or marvellous small prints with details so tiny that viewers needed magnifying glasses to spot them. Hollar's fine motor control was phenomenal (he had, after all, trained as a miniature painter), and his spatial reasoning extraordinary. Yet, despite Hollar's seemingly tireless industry and high rate of production, his artistic standards were high. His meticulous, high-precision etching technique rarely faltered over a lifetime of printmaking. Comparing work by Hollar with contemporary English portrait prints is illuminating: Hollar simply towered above the average English printmaker of his times. Not until the Restoration, when he worked alongside Loggan and Gaywood, was

Hollar seriously challenged by local talent. Even then, no English printmaker could match his productivity and versatility at the same level of skill.

There is still more to Hollar, however. Whenever he moved beyond accurate reproduction of others' designs, we encounter an artist who delighted in close observation and sensual enjoyment, and who was capable, at his best, of an intensely-felt, direct engagement with the world. Above all, Hollar noticed things. If he took great trouble to represent them convincingly even within the limitations of a small print, this was not simply because he was a perfectionist. Although he certainly was that, fine-tuning his etchings with engraving tools. As he explained in a letter written on the back of a trial proof of his *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, sent to a friend's father,

> '...do not think, please, that this is a perfect proof of the engraving [etching]...In principle after the acid treatment, corrections on the plate must be done. In this case, however, they were omitted. I am therefore rather reluctant to send you the proof. I never send proofs away unless they are perfect. Here in this case you can only notice and see what the [etching] acid has done, but it hasn't been touched by the [engraving] needle.'[16]

Time and again, Hollar's prints reveal his unflagging curiosity about the world. Other artists of his time recorded women's clothing, but few except Hollar troubled to show what it looked like from the back. Many depicted whales at sea, but few noticed that some whales have double spouts - or how these spouts curl at the top in a strong wind, and in what direction they curl. Hollar's still lifes of entwined fur muffs and lace were unprecedented. His near-obsessive rendering of the gloss and texture of different kinds of fur testify to his extraordinary powers of observation, his patience in drawing, and his erotic pleasure in the sensuous feel of fur.

Whatever the socio-economic or psychological content of Hollar's art, it is important to remember that it was designed to delight, as well as inform. His is an art created for people accustomed to examining a single artwork slowly, perhaps for years - a skill we are rapidly losing. As modern technology encourages the development of our 'quick-scan' abilities, our ability to see older visual art as it was meant to be seen is affected. The more one looks at Hollar's art, the more there is to see, and to enjoy. I hope this exhibition will encourage visitors to

do just that.

The prints and book illustrations in this catalogue are a small selection from the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library's wonderful Hollar collection, one of the world's largest. It was the gift of the late Dr. Sidney Fisher. As he collected illustrated books as well as independent prints, it is possible to give some impression of the breadth of Hollar's work even within the limited exhibition space available at the Library.

The exhibition and catalogue were made possible by the generosity of the Thomas Fisher Library and the Friends of the Fisher Library. Neither could have been created without the aid of the Fisher staff, particularly the Director, Prof. Richard Landon, who initially proposed using its space; Assistant Director Anne Dondertman; the Fisher librarians, and Linda Joy, the conservator. Pearce Carefoote's directory to the Hollar collection print boxes is an essential research aid. The Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation of New York City sponsored the digitization of the Fisher's Wenceslaus Hollar collection, making this catalogue possible. Prof. Paul Yachnin and Prof. Robert Tittler of The Making Publics Project (a Major Collaborative Research Initiative funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada) encouraged the project and supported the accompanying conference, funded by the SSHRC. Elizabeth Pigott transcribed Sir Thomas Herbert's travel memoirs. Sarah Wimbush contacted St. Paul's about its lost organ, and transcribed Hollar's London epitaph. Zuzana Novotna showed me Hollar's drawings in Prague's Palace Kinsky. I also thank the staff of the Marvin Gelber Print and Drawing Study Centre, Art Gallery of Ontario; Robert Harding, Hollar expert at Maggs, London; Dr. Sandy Johnston of Records of Early English Drama; Dr. John Collins, National Gallery of Canada; and Dr. Niamh O'Laoghaire of the University of Toronto Art Centre.

Dr. Simon Turner, author of the New Hollstein volumes on Hollar, kindly sent me a chronology of Hollar's life and work. To my great regret, I was unable to consult his Hollstein publications before writing this catalogue. I am extremely grateful for his help. All errors are of course my own responsibility.

NOTE ON THE CATALOGUE ILLUSTRATIONS:

Most prints discussed in the catalogue may be viewed online at the website of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, in the Hollar Digital Collection: http://link.library.utoronto.ca/hollar/

NOTE ON THE CATALOGUE ENTRIES:

The catalogue entries follow the order of the exhibition - beginning in the first floor Reading Room, and continuing to the cases in the main exhibition area on the entrance level of the Fisher Library. Entries are numbered consecutively and include the following elements:

1. author, all prints are by Hollar unless otherwise indicated
2. title, taken from the print itself, or from Pennington's *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar 1607–1677* (Cambridge, 1982)
3. date, when it is on the print or can be ascertained from other sources
4. inscriptions, transcribed from the print when relevant
5. Pennington number, keyed to the entry in the *Descriptive Catalogue*. The Pennington number can be used to search for the print in the Fisher's online Hollar collection
6. state, state 1 is implied, unless otherwise indicated
7. dimensions of the printed plate, giving height × width to the nearest centimetre

WENCESLAUS HOLLAR

Gentilhomme ne a Prage l'an 1607. a esté de nature fort inclin p^r l'art de meniature principalement pour esclaircir, mais beaucoup retardé par son pere, l'an 1627, il est party de Prage aiyant demeure en divers lieux en Allemaigne, il c est addonne pour peu de temps a esclaircir et aplicquer leau forte, estant party de Cologne avec le Comte d'Arondel vers Vienne et d'illec par Prage vers l'Angleterre, ou aiyant esté Serviteur domestique du Duc de Ioreck, il s'est retiré de la a cause de la guerre a Anvers ou il reside encores.

Ie. Meyssens pinxit et excudit.

1 *Wenceslaus Hollar*, ca. 1649
Pennington 1419, state ii
17×12 cm.

Hollar's self-portrait, etched by the artist ca. 1649, emphasizes his fame and social stature, as it was intended for use in a collection of famous men's portraits.[17] A Bohemian gentleman, Hollar wears fine clothes, and his coat of arms appears at upper left. At right is a view of Prague, with the tower of St. Vitus cathedral as it appeared in his lifetime.[18] On the table are printmaking tools, a bottle of etching acid, and shells for holding inks. Hollar appears to squint. The English printmaker Francis Place (1647–1728), who knew him later in life, wrote that Hollar 'had a defect in one of his Eyes, which was the left, so that he always held his hand before it when he wrought. He never used spectacles.'[19] Hollar's biographer John Aubrey (1626–1697) reported that he was very short-sighted.[20]

The French text explains that Hollar was born a gentleman in Prague, capital of Bohemia (the modern Czech Republic), in 1607. He was naturally drawn to art, against his father's wishes. He left Prague in 1627, and learned etching in Germany. The inscription also refers to Hollar's first patron, Thomas, Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), and to the fact that Hollar met the Earl in Cologne and traveled with him to Vienna and Prague. They then returned to Arundel's native England, where Hollar became a servant to King Charles I's second son, the Duke of York. We are then told that Hollar left England due to war (i.e., the English Civil War), and settled in Antwerp, where he was living when this portrait was made.

In fact, the Protestant Hollar probably left Prague for religious reasons. In 1627, Bohemia's ruler Frederick II ordered Protestant nobles to leave the country or convert. As Hollar converted to Catholicism while living in Antwerp, the inscription says nothing about his Protestant origins.[21]

The artist is showing us one of his own etched copperplates, identifiable as a printing plate (rather than a print), by the backwards lettering of its inscription, which says the plate depicts a Raphael painting of St. Catharine 'from the Earl of Arundel's collection'.[22]

2 *Augsburg*, 1635
Pennington 699
6×9 cm.

In the late 1620s and early 1630s, Hollar traveled in Bohemia, Germany and Holland, sketching as he went. He later made landscape and costume prints from these drawings. This is one of a set of twenty-four small etchings entitled *Amœnissimæ aliquot locorvm* ('About a few beautiful places'), published at Cologne in 1635, by Abraham Hogenberg.

Such affordable little prints catered to a growing nostalgia for the countryside among townspeople in seventeenth-century Europe. They emphasize leisure activities rather than agricultural labour. Here, well-dressed men and women (the sort of people who would have enjoyed these prints) stroll near a moat-surrounded artificial hill outside the city. The towers in the background belong to the Benedictine abbey, identified as 'S. Ulrich'.

Similar landscape prints were popular, especially in the Netherlands. Famous examples were made for the Dutch market by artists like Jan van de Velde II (1593–1641) and Jan Claesz. Visscher (1587–1652).[23] Hollar probably knew these before making his own.

3 *Augsburg*, 1665
Inscribed (at lower left): 'M. Merian delin: W. Hollar fecit. 1665'
Pennington 758
6×12 cm.

Thirty years after etching the preceding view, Hollar shows us Augsburg again from a different viewpoint. The city towers are reflected in the river, winding through water meadows. Again, the location is identified by an inscription in the sky.

Now, however, no people are visible, although Hollar loved to animate his landscapes with figures. He based this print on a drawing by the Swiss print-maker Matthew Merian (1593–1650), with whom he may have studied etching. Merian worked from 1626 in Frankfurt, a town Hollar visited in the late 1620s.[24] Possibly Hollar learned from Merian how to make elevated town views and

panoramic landscapes. Merian is best known for his topographical views and town plans, especially the *Topographia Germaniae*: twenty-one volumes of prints he produced in collaboration with the geographer Martin Zeiler (1589–1661) and, from 1640, with his own son Matthew Merian the Younger (1621–1687).

4 *Thomas, Earl of Arundel*, 1639
Pennington 1351, state iii
27×19 cm.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585–1646) was arguably the single most important person in Hollar's professional life. While traveling on an embassy for Charles I, the Earl met Hollar at Cologne in the spring of 1636, and took him into his service. By the end of the year, both men were in London (see no. 1). Arundel remained Hollar's patron until 1644.

Hollar could not have found a better patron. The Earl's prudent marriage to the heiress Alatheia Talbot (1585–1654) enabled him to become a visionary collector of art and antiquities, coins and books.[25] Hollar was allowed to make prints copying items from his wonderful collection.

Hollar made this print in London in 1639, possibly reproducing part of a portrait Anthony van Dyck had painted earlier of Arundel with his grandson.[26] The Latin text refers to Arundel's status as premier earl and Earl Marshal of England, and to his many aristocratic titles. It also announces his appointment as Charles I's supreme military commander, which explains why Arundel wears armour, and why the print was made: to celebrate this important appointment. The Earl's medal of St. George identifies him as a knight of England's prestigious Order of the Garter. The print was issued with a royal privilege forbidding others to copy it an early and ineffective form of copyright protection.[27]

5 *Arundel House from the South (looking North)*, 1646
Pennington 1035
9×20 cm.

From 1636 to 1644 Hollar's professional life centred on Arundel House, London residence of the Earl of Arundel. These two prints of the same Arundel House

courtyard, seen from different sides, bear the wrong titles. '*Aula Domus Arrundelianae Londini Meridiem versus*' in fact shows the courtyard looking north towards the Strand. The tower visible above the rooftops is that of the church of St. Clement Danes.

Arundel House was a typical old London great house: an accumulation of buildings erected around courtyards at different periods. This is the eastern service courtyard; the Earl's own living quarters are out of sight to the left.[28] The small building with a large window (at right) may be a studio, as two paintings lean against the wall outside. The long slot in the wall perhaps served for moving large pictures in and out.[29] The large modern building at right is a stable, with horses just visible inside, and a sundial over the doorway.

Both prints are shakily inscribed: 'Adam A. Bierling delin: WHollar fecit 1646', indicating that Hollar made the etching from a drawing by Bierling - about whom little is known. He did publish some etchings made by Hollar in Antwerp, where the artist was living when these prints were made.

6 *Arundel House from the North (looking South)*, 1646
Pennington 1034
9×20 cm.

The southward view of the same service courtyard at Arundel House, looking towards the river Thames, is here mistitled '*Aula Domus Arrundelianae. Londini. Meridiem versus.*' The river and the far Lambeth shore are just visible beyond the smoking chimneys.

A journey is about to begin. At right, a coach with six horses awaits passengers. Other coaches are parked in the open shed under the chimneys. At left is a group of riders with their horses, saddled and ready to move off. Men with long whips rush about the courtyard. The large modern stable is now at left, with the same sundial over its entrance.

By the time Hollar etched these prints, the Earl's household at Arundel House had been broken up. The Earl and Countess had gone into exile at the approach of Civil War. The Earl of Arundel died in Italy in 1646, the year these prints were made.

RAPH: VRB: PINXIT.
W. Hollar fecit. ex Collectione Arundeliana

7 *St. Catharine of Alexandria, after Raphael*, [ca. 1646]
Pennington 177, state i
22×16 cm.

Hollar's print of Raphael's *St. Catharine of Alexandria* was probably made at about the same time as Hollar's self-portrait (no. 1), from a copperplate much like that Hollar shows himself holding. According to the inscription on this print – and on the copperplate in the self-portrait – the Raphael depicted was in Arundel's collection. Its current whereabouts are unknown, but if one removes the martyr's palm and wheel from this *St. Catharine*, what is left closely resembles Raphael's famous *Veiled Lady* (*'La Velata'*), which survives in Florence in the Galleria Palatina (Pitti Palace). *'La Velata'* was never in Arundel's collection. It was already at the Pitti Palace in 1622, and can be traced there in inventories throughout the seventeenth century. Nor was *'La Velata'* ever a 'St. Catharine' with palm and wheel, according to modern technological inspections.[30]

The sitter in *'La Velata'* faces left, but in Hollar's print, St. Catharine faces right. Printing plates normally produce mirror images of the design on the plate, so it is easy to reverse a design accidentally. However, by 1646 Hollar was an accomplished printmaker. He is unlikely to have made this elementary mistake when reproducing Arundel's cherished Raphael.

Perhaps what Arundel owned was not a real Raphael, but a version (or copy) of *'La Velata'*, tranformed into a *'St. Catharine'* by the reversal of the composition, and the addition of saintly attributes. Collecting was a competitive activity at the Stuart royal court, where King Charles I, the Earl of Arundel, and rival courtiers vied to acquire Italian Renaissance artworks. Though their collections included many original works by major artists, not all their treasures were genuine.[31]

8 *The Royal Exchange*, by 1662
Pennington 907, state ii
15×26 cm.

Hollar's etching, entitled '*Byrsa Londinensis vulgo the Royal Exchange*', comes from a set of four prints he made of London views.[32] It depicts the inner courtyard of the Exchange, as it appeared before the Great Fire of London destroyed it in 1666.

The Exchange was built in 1566–1571 at the expense of the rich London merchant Sir Thomas Gresham (ca. 1518–1579). Gresham's device, a gilded grasshopper, is just visible on each corner of the building's roof.[33] In 1662 the Royal Exchange was Britain's most important trading venue, but Hollar shows it as a place of recreation, where children play with marbles and whipping-tops. Children often played in the courtyard, to the consternation of Exchange officials. In 1601, the Exchange Keepers were given long staves 'tipped with silver and the Arms of the Citty and Company of Mercers engraved thereon' to help them enforce the rules.[34]

Evidently the problem of maintaining order in the Exchange had not been resolved by the time Hollar etched this view. At left, an Exchange Keeper with a

long staff is chasing away boys. Adults stroll under the arcades (the 'Walks'). Inside the building over their heads were two floors of stalls selling luxury goods: England's first shopping mall, where Hollar's own prints were offered for sale.

The surprising absence of merchants may be due to the hour: 2:35 p.m. by the Tower clock. Merchants gathered in the Exchange courtyard only in 'trading hours': at 11 a.m. and 6 p.m. (5 p.m. in winter).

9 *The Royal Exchange*, 1644
Pennington 1036, state ii
29×39 cm.

The Tower clock now reads five minutes to five. It is five minutes before the start of winter trading hours, and the Royal Exchange courtyard is packed with merchants ready to start dealing. London's growing importance in international trade is signified by the fur-hatted Muscovy merchants (at left) and turbaned Turkish merchants (near the centre of the crowd). In the foreground, a woman is selling ballads. People went to the Royal Exchange to hear the latest news, often

conveyed or commented upon in ballad.

As the inscription declares, Hollar dedicated the first state of this 1644 print to Sir John Wollaston, Lord Mayor of London in 1643. The verses refer to the superiority of London's Exchange over Antwerp's, and to the opening of the Exchange in 1571 by Queen Elizabeth I, who granted it the title, 'Royal Exchange'. They also mention the shops inside the building, popular with rich ladies ('Within, a world of beauteous faces.'). The author 'H. Pechamus' was Henry Peacham (1576–1643), probably a tutor in the Arundel family.[35] A medallion portrait of the Exchange's founder, Sir Thomas Gresham, dangles from the print's title.

Gresham's statue survived the fire, unlike those of the English kings in niches surrounding the courtyard. That of Charles I (nearest at right) was soon to be destroyed by his enemies.[36]

Hollar's cut-away view of the Exchange creates the illusion that we are present in the courtyard ourselves. The inscription explains that the nearest side resembled the other three.

10 *Seleucus & his Son (after Giulio Romano)*, 1637
Pennington 527
28×37 cm.

This splendid print, one of the first Hollar made for the Earl of Arundel, copies a fresco by Giulio Romano (ca. 1499–1546) in the Palazzo del Té at Mantua, Italy - doubtless from a drawing of the fresco in Arundel's collection. The Latin inscription on the print says that this image was once drawn by Romano, and is now kept in Arundel's London home. The Earl owned over two hundred books of drawings by famous artists, including Michelangelo, Raphael and Leonardo, housed in a specially-built marble room designed by Inigo Jones.[37] The print's Latin dedication praises Arundel as 'the greatest of lovers, collectors and promoters of the Art of Pictura'.

The story depicted is that of Seleucus (352–280 B.C.), one of Alexander's generals and the ruler (satrap) of Asia Minor. Seleucus's son was condemned for adultery. The punishment was blinding in both eyes, but Seleucus refrained from using his power to repeal the sentence, sparing his son. Instead, he ordered that

one of his son's eyes should be put out – and one of his own.

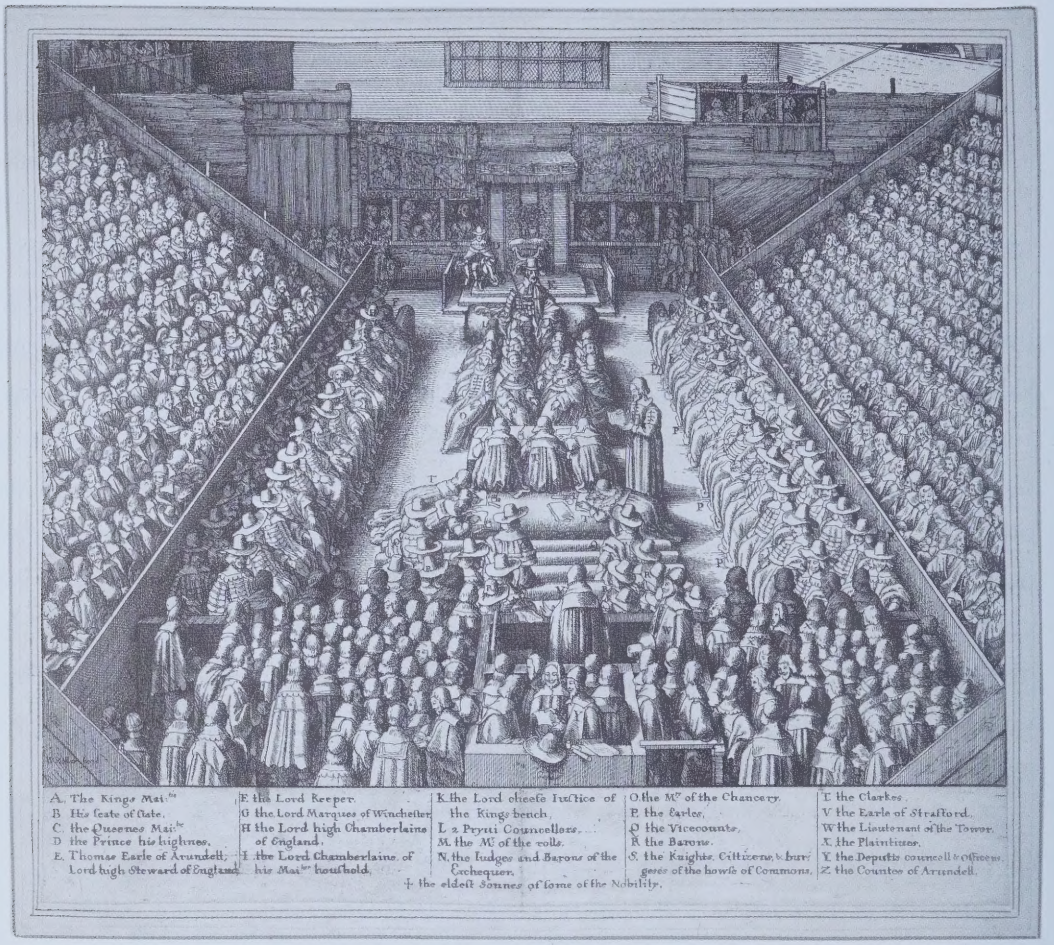
In Hollar's day, the story of Seleucus was invoked to emphasize the importance of virtue in men holding positions of authority.[38] As Earl Marshal, the Earl of Arundel controlled court appointments, which gave him exceptional power in the royal administration – and exceptional opportunities to abuse it. The story of Seleucus seems to have been well-known in his household. Henry Peacham, author of the Latin account of the story inscribed on this print, referred to it in a poem. When Arundel's collection of ancient stone inscriptions was catalogued in John Selden's *Marmora Arundelliana* (1628), the first inscription listed mentioned Seleucus.

This impressive print also exists in coloured versions, so may have been intended for a deluxe publication of Arundel's drawings and inscriptions.[39] The inscription says Hollar 'most humbly dedicates and consecrates the print' to 'the most illustrious and most excellent Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey'. Though humble towards his patron, Hollar claimed near-equal status for himself with Giulio Romano by signing the print just under Romano's name, at Seleucus's foot.

11 *Trial of Thomas, Earl of Strafford*, 1641
Inscribed at lower left corner, in design: W. Hollar fecit
Pennington 551, state i
27×29 cm.

Hollar's print, *The True Maner of the Sitting of The Lords & Commons of Both Howses of Parliament, upon the Trial of Thomas Earle of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, (1641), the most important visual record of this historic trial, was probably etched in 1641 along with his etching of Strafford's execution (no. 12). A sheet of paper bearing both prints survives (Royal Collection, Windsor). This print was part of the spirited propaganda battle surrounding the trial, by which Parliament and King Charles I's ministers vied for popular support.

The key at the bottom of this print identifies the chief players at Strafford's trial. Curiously, we do not see the face of the defendant himself: the solitary figure standing with his back to us in the foreground box (at letter V). Even King


A. The Kings Mai.tie
B. His seate of state.
C. the Queenes Mai.tie
D. the Prince his highnes.
E. Thomas Earle of Arundell; Lord high Steward of England.
F. the Lord Keeper.
G. the Lord Marques of Winchester
H. the Lord high Chamberlaine of England.
I. the Lord Chamberlaine of his Mai.ties household.
K. the Lord cheefe Iustice of the Kings bench.
L. 2 Pryui Councellors.
M. the M.r of the rolls.
N. the Iudges and Barons of the Exchequer.
O. the M.r of the Chancery.
P. the Earles.
Q. the Vicecounts.
R. the Barons.
S. the Knights. Citizens & burgeses of the howse of Commons.
T. the Clarkes.
V. the Earle of Strafford.
W. the Lieutenant of the Tower.
X. the Plaintiffes.
Y. the Deputis counsell & officers.
Z. the Countes of Arundell.
+ the eldest Sonnes of some of the Nobility.

Charles I is only a shadowy presence at A, in an alcove to the left of the empty throne. (He was not allowed to participate in the trial). The king is identifiable only by his hat, his beard and the Order of the Garter he always wore.

The only individual clearly portrayed in the print is the Earl of Arundel, Hollar's patron: the long-nosed man who wears a hat and sits before the throne (at E). Holding his staff of office as Earl Marshal, Arundel presides over the trial. His wife the Countess of Arundel is also identified in the key (at Z, in an alcove to the right of the throne), though she played no part in the trial. The Arundels' prominence suggests the Earl commissioned this print, perhaps hoping to establish himself in the public mind as Strafford's enemy - and therefore Parliament's friend. In 1642, Arundel went into exile himself as a Royalist.

Strafford's trial took months, as the defendant - Charles I's most capable minister - defended himself brilliantly. This gave Hollar plenty of time to observe

the chief players, and even the audience, who are depicted as individuals chatting and taking notes.

This print was first issued for sale in England. In 1643, a second state with a German inscription was included in the *Theatrum Europæum*, an international news publication produced in Frankfurt.

THE TRUE MANER OF THE EXECUTION OF THOMAS EARLE OF STRAFFORD LORD
Lieutenant of Ireland vpon Towerhill the 12th of May 1641.
HYBERNIÆ PROREGIS SUPPLICIVM
A Doctor Vsher Lord Prima-
te of Ireland.
B the Sheriffes of London.
C the Earle of Strafford.
D his Kindred and Friends.
Execution des Grafen Thomæ von Stafford Statthalter in Irland auf dē Tawers platz in Londen 12 Maj 1641.
A. Doct. Vsher Primat in Irland.
B. Rahts Herren von Londen.
C. Der Graf von Stafford.
D. Seine anverwanten vnd freunde.

12 *The Execution of the Earl of Strafford*, 1641
Inscribed at lower left in design: WH [Wenceslaus Hollar]
Pennington 552, state iii
10×26 cm.

Hollar's print of *The True Maner of the Execution of Thomas Earle of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, vpon Towerhill, the 12th of May 1641* is a far hastier production than his print of Strafford's trial. One of the most famous prints in British history, it is nevertheless a crude production – an exception in the work of a printmaker as meticulous as Hollar. Strafford's execution was rushed, and the print would have been sold to people attending it or interested in 'current

events', so Hollar probably had little time in which to etch it.

The propaganda campaign against Strafford was so effective that over 200,000 people attended his execution: an amazing turnout for any seventeenth-century event. Accordingly, the print is dominated by the crowds, not the Earl. Strafford is barely visible, kneeling on the scaffold under the executioner's raised axe (at C). Though Charles I had promised to protect Strafford, he yielded to pressure from crowds threatening his own family at Whitehall Palace, and signed Strafford's death warrant on May 10, 1641. Strafford, who famously commented, 'Put not your trust in princes', was executed two days later on Tower Hill. At left, people trying to clamber onto a viewing stand are beaten back by spectators already on it. On the far side of the execution platform, a crowd cascades from a collapsing grandstand.

Hollar stayed on after the Earl of Arundel had left England. He worked in London's commercial print market until he, too, left the country in 1644, settling in Antwerp.

13 *Map of England and View of Prague, with Scenes of the Beginning of the Civil War and the Fall of Protestant Bohemia*, 1659
Pennington 543, state i
31×38 cm.

Hollar's frontispiece to John Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, vol. I (London, 1659–1701), was etched some seven years after Hollar returned to England in 1652. The book, written by Oliver Cromwell's former secretary to encourage anti-Royalist feeling in Britain, chronicled the fall of Charles I and the collapse of Protestant Bohemia (briefly ruled by Charles' sister and brother-in-law). The print typifies aspects of early modern British political thinking: the lingering belief in astrology, and fear of Catholicism – specifically, of the Habsburg Holy Roman Empire, Europe's greatest Catholic power.

The left side of the print concerns England; the right side, Bohemia. The double-headed eagle (an Imperial symbol) is split in two. Its left half (at 'E') overlaps an England ravaged by the Civil War. Its right half (at another 'E') hovers over the Battle of the White Mountain (1620) where Imperial forces defeated the Protestant rulers of Bohemia. This Catholic victory led to the reimposition of Catholicism in Bohemia – and to Hollar's own exile in 1628.[40]

A key at the bottom of this complex print helps us to interpret it.

On the left side of the print, and at centre:

Letters A and B: refer to the Scottish rebellions which Charles I (the 'Lion' or 'Chiefe') failed to suppress in the 1630s. The 'Paw' refers to Scotland's heraldic lion, i.e. to Scotland.

Letter C ('Stooles at Scottish Prelates hurl'd'): in 1637, Scotswoman Jenny Geddes started a riot in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh, by throwing her stool at a Dean attempting to introduce Anglican-style liturgy. Scots resisting the Anglicanization of their church allied themselves with English Parliamentarians. 'Bellona', ancient Roman goddess of war, symbolizes the wider Civil War that followed.

Letter D: in 1639 Charles I makes peace with the Scots at Berwick-on-Tweed, on the border between England and Scotland.

Letters E and F: the 'Lionesse' is Charles's unpopular French Catholic queen, Henrietta Maria, who sought foreign aid to save her husband's rule.

Letters G and H: Scots invade and occupy northern England; Charles I tries to control Ireland militarily.

Letter I: Charles I breaches Parliamentary privilege by entering the House of Commons with troops in an unsuccessful attempt to arrest five M.P.s.

Letter K: London crowds protect Parliament from royal troops. The verse refers to anti-Anglicanism ('no Bishop') and to the pro-Parliament slogan 'Privilege'.

Letter M: in a small roundel at the lower edge of the image, a cow kicks over a bucket of milk, representing monarchy destroying the laws it gave.

Under the map of England, the Latin inscription '*Sed nulla potentia longa est*' translates as 'But no power is long'. In the upper left corner, 'The Three Suns' represents the parhelion (sundog) that appeared over London on King Charles I's birthday: 19 November, 1644.[41] This detail closely resembles a woodcut print in *The Starry Messenger* (London, 1645),[42] the book in which the astrologer William Lilly (1602–81) interpreted 'The Three Suns' as foretelling the Stuart monarchy's decline.[43]

The right side of the print:

The corresponding 'Angry Star' (in the upper right corner of the print) represents a comet seen in England and Bohemia in late 1618 – early 1619.[44] The Latin under the battlescene ('*Quo non discordia cives*') may be a variation on a line from Virgil's *Eclogues* (I.71-72) lamenting the effects of civil discord.

Letter N: a Bohemian church congregation hears a Protestant sermon ('Celestiall Manna').

Letters O and P: Protestantism brings pastoral happiness and agricultural prosperity.

Letter Q: The rays of the Angry Star signal moral backsliding (gambling, drunkenness, sexual immorality, and duelling). The comet's influence, represented by its rays, affects human affairs at letters R and S, where Catholic clergy ('Papists') bring troops to destroy Lutheran churches in Bohemia. The 'Aurea Bulla', a medieval law of the Holy Roman Empire, gave Bohemian kings the right to elect emperors.

Letter T: Emperor Mathias appoints his Catholic cousin Ferdinand of Styria to the Bohemian throne, breaching the tradition whereby Bohemians elected their own kings. Catholic bishops supervise.

Letter V: Frederick, Elector Palatine accepts the crown of Bohemia before a cheering crowd. The Bohemians, having deposed Ferdinand, elected Frederick as their Protestant king.

Letter W: The Defenestration of Prague: the most famous incident depicted. On 23 May 1618, Bohemian Protestant nobles found the Emperor's Catholic representatives guilty of failing to respect freedom of religion, and threw them, with their secretary, from the windows of the Prague chancellery. All three men survived, but the incident helped to spark the Thirty Years War.

Letter X: appears twice on the elevated view of the Battle of the White Mountain. The reference to Jehu is to the king of Israel who drove 'furiously' out to battle and slew his enemy.[45] The Bohemians defied the danger of Imperial invasion, but were defeated in battle.

Letter Y: following the Battle of the White Mountain, victorious Imperial soldiers butcher Bohemian civilians.

Letter Z: In 1621, Imperial authorities executed twenty-seven Bohemian Protestant leaders. Decapitated heads are impaled on top of a nearby wall.

CONCORDIA
CVM CANDORE
ILLVSTRISSIMÆ ET EXELLENTISSIMÆ HEROINÆ ALETHEIÆ MARTIÆ
Talbotorum gentis, Salopiæ Comitis heredi, uxori vnicæ, et vnicæ dilectæ, peregrinationum, omniumq; fortunarum fidæ et
indefessæ Comiti THOMÆ HOWARDI Jll.mi et Ex.mi Arundelliæ, Surriæ, et Norfolciæ Comitis, Angliæ Comitum Supremi,
vniciq; illius Regni Marescalli, Nobilissimæ gentis Howardæ principis, Baronis Howardi Mowbray etc. Nobilissimiq; aureæ Peris;
celsiris Sodalitii Equitis. Doctorum hominum fautoris, bonarumq; artium instauratoris, hunc artis Pictoriæ cordiali eius amore, cui Sees
omnis incumbebat, dilectæ, luctum, ac Mæcenatis sui à mortis, temporisq; oblivione famâ, artiumque Geniis defendentibus æternas vin-
dicias obseruantiæ et gratitudinis ergo in viuam, memoriæ et pietatis in defunctum. L.M.D.D.
Henricus vander Borchte junior.
Cornelius Schut Inventor
Wenceslaus Hollar fecit.

14 Wenceslaus Hollar and Hendrick van der Borcht. *Allegory on the Death of the Earl of Arundel*, 1646

Inscribed at bottom left, 'Cornelius Schut Inventor'; at lower centre, 'Wenceslaus Hollar fecit'; and at lower right, 'Henricus vander Borcht junior'

Pennington 466, state ii

37.8×31.3 cm.

The Earl of Arundel left England in 1642, specifying in his will that he wished to be buried at Arundel, Sussex, with an elaborate tomb. After he died in Padua in 1646, his entrails and heart were buried in a Catholic cloister, but the rest of his body was returned to England and buried in the Fitzalan Chapel at Arundel Castle.[46] This print is the only version of the monument the Earl envisaged for himself and described in detail:

> '...my own Figure (of white marble or brass designed by Signr Francesco Fanelli) sitting and looking upwards (according to the last clause of the Epitaph) leaning upon a Lion holding a Escutcheon upon which the Epitaph to be engraven, and at the feet the Marshall's Staff with a Cornet or the like.'[47]

The print was a collaborative effort by Hollar and another of Arundel's former printmakers, Hendrick van der Borcht the Younger (1614–1666). The busy composition is characteristic of the work of Cornelis Schut (1597–1655).[48]

Arundel poses melancholically on top of his tomb, his eyes raised to heaven. His family arms appear on the escutcheon held by the lion. While skeletal Death and winged Father Time struggle in vain to shift the Earl from his seat, cherubim pull him towards Fame's chariot. Faith and Hope (with anchor) sprawl on the monument's steps. The obelisk standing at right represents the power and endurance of ancient empires. At upper left, a zodiacal arch encompasses the times of Arundel's birth and death: Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo and Libra.[49]

The print celebrates Arundel's interests and patronage. Painting (right foreground) raises her brush to the Earl. Items from his collections litter the monument's steps: books, coins, medals, classical heads of stone, and small bronze statuettes. At left, the Holbein portrait of the Earl's grandfather, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, is a graceful reference to Arundel's pride in his ancestry – and to his magnificent Holbein collection. In the foreground is a print of Raphael's *Assumption of the Virgin*, referring to Arundel's fabulous collection of Raphaels – and to Hollar's prints of artworks from the collection.

The inscription lauds the Earl's love of art, and dedicates the print to Arundel's widow, Alatheia, Countess of Arundel 'the most illustrious and excellent Heroine, only wife and delight' of the Earl. She had separated from Arundel and was living in the Netherlands, where this print was made.

15 *Lady with Feather Fan*, 1639
Inscribed in lower left corner: W. Hollar fecit./1
Pennington 1778A, state i
12×7 cm.

16 *Lady with a Ribbon Round her Waist*, after 1665
Inscribed in lower left corner: 'Hollar fecit/1639', and in lower right corner, '5'
Pennington 1782, state iii
13×7 cm.

17 *Lady with Fair Hair, from the Back*, after 1643
Inscribed in lower right corner: 'Hollar fecit: /1640', and '16'
[corrected from '15']
Pennington 1793, state ii
13×8 cm.

18 *The Kitchen-Maid*, 1640
Inscribed in lower right corner: 'Hollar inu: [i.e., invenit] /1640
Pennington 1803, state i
13×8 cm.

Hollar's *Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus* prints reproduce the clothing and hairstyles of Englishwomen. The earliest prints in the set date from 1638, though most were made in 1639–1640.[50] The 1640 title page described the set as 'The severall Habits of English Women, from the Nobilitie to the contry Woman, as they are in these times'. Hollar must have initially marketed these prints himself, as no publisher's name appears on the title page.

Sets of costume prints were always popular on the commercial print market, where Hollar was active after Arundel went to Scotland in 1639. This set has traditionally been considered as 'purely fashion plates'.[51] However, the first print of the set (no. 15), inscribed '1', represents the first lady in the land: Queen Henrietta Maria (1609–1666), wife of Charles I. The Queen is identifiable by her facial features, and her royal jewellery – particularly the small brooch anchoring her magnificent lace collar. She wears the same brooch in her three-quarter-length portrait by Van Dyck in the Royal Collection, for which she sat in 1637.[52]

Another of the prints, *Lady with a Ribbon Round her Waist* (no. 16) may well represent Lady Anne Carr, Countess of Bedford (1615–1684). There is a facial resemblance, and the pose certainly derives from Van Dyck's portrait of the Countess, painted ca. 1638. Hollar varied it slightly by depicting her fully gloved.[53] Other prints in the set are also portraits, as yet unidentified.

As none of these women is identified by an inscription, most people would have bought the prints as fashion plates. Only those 'in the know' would have realized that some of the *Ornatus Muliebris* prints also functioned as a set of 'beauties'. Such sets of portraits of beautiful women (especially aristocrats) were

fashionable in 1640s England, and abroad.[54] The Van Dyck portrait of *Anne Carr, Countess of Bedford* (collection of Lord Egremont) which inspired Hollar's *Lady with a Ribbon Round her Waist* (no. 16) belonged to such a set: the 'Petworth Beauties'. These portraits of ca. 1638–1639 were assembled by Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland (1602–1668) for his London residence, where Hollar might have seen them.[55]

Alongside these 'beauty' prints, Hollar's set includes obvious costume prints, like *Lady with Fair Hair, from the Back* (no. 17). His interest in the back view of women's clothing – rarely shown in costume prints or portraits by his contemporaries – is invaluable to costume historians.[56]

The most unusual print in the 1640 set is *The Kitchen-Maid* (no. 18): a portrait of a representative of the lowest rank in the hierarchy of female domestic servants. Even in the eighteenth century, portraits of kitchen-maids remained rare. Her facial features, clearly recorded, recall Hollar's comment to John Aubrey (1626–1695), about the cheerful expressions of English people 'both poore and rich' before the Civil War.[57]

Hollar's costume prints had lasting appeal and marketability. They appear in the ca. 1654 and 1662 sale catalogues of London's leading printseller, Peter Stent (ca. 1613–1665). *Lady with a Ribbon Round her Waist* (no. 16), being a third-state impression of this print, would have been printed after 1665. *Ornatus Muliebris*, expanded by the addition of more plates, went on selling well into the eighteenth century.[58] As collectors assembled their own combinations of prints from the set, a complete set bound in the original order is rare.

19 *Winter*, from *The Four Seasons*, 1643
Signed and dated in design, at lower left: W. Hollar fecit 1643
Inscribed at lower right: 4
Pennington 609
26×19 cm.

By the mid-seventeenth century, allegorical prints of 'The Four Seasons' were popular with English printbuyers.[59] Hollar executed three sets of 'Seasons', all personified by elegantly-dressed women. With full-length, three-quarter-length, or half-length figures, they would have been priced at different levels. In each set,

The cold, not cruelty makes her reach
In Winter furrs and Wild beasts haire
Winter
For a smoother skinn at night
Embraceth her with more delight

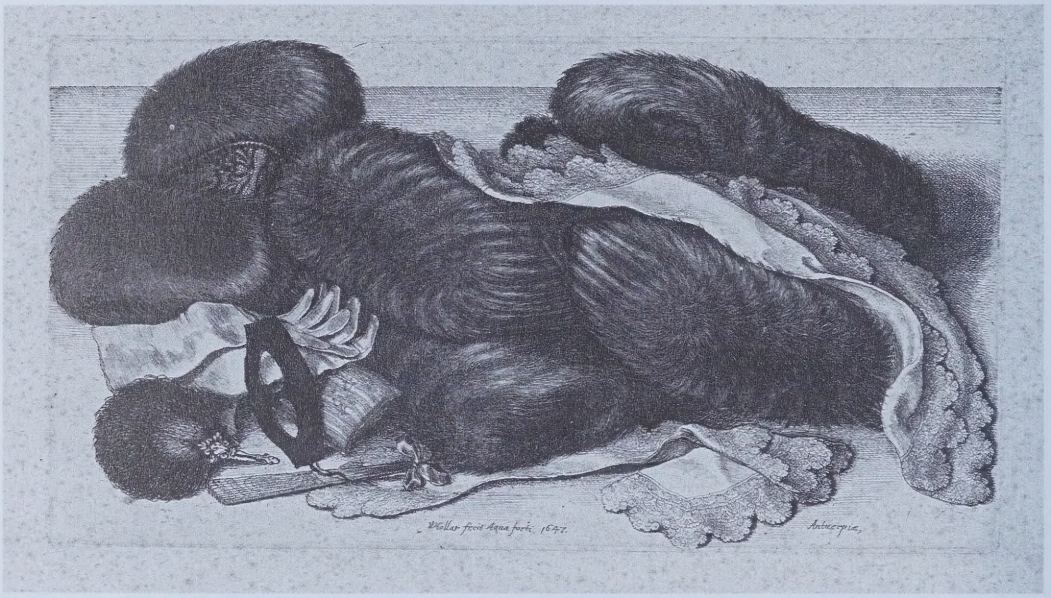
'Winter' is a warmly-dressed woman rather than the traditional old man.[60]

This *Winter* comes from the most expensive set: the full-length 'Seasons' issued in 1643–1644.[61] Hollar must have financed production himself, as the prints bear no publisher's name.

Art historians have noted the sexual aspects of this image - the furs, mask, and the fact that the small two-storey building at right is the 'Tun', where prostitutes, fornicators and adulterers were imprisoned.[62] Though the image is undeniably erotic – as the inscription confirms – it is unlikely that 'Winter' is intended to represent a prostitute, since the other 'Seasons' in the set are respectable ladies. Though all the other women in the background of 'Winter' are

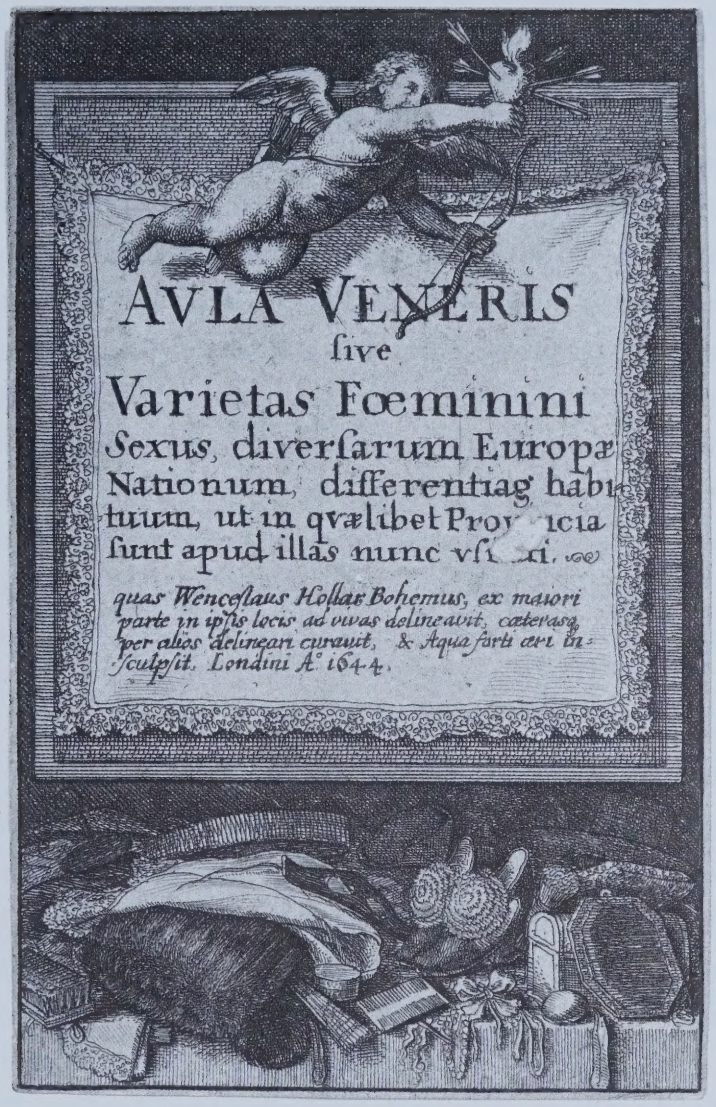
accompanied, in accordance with Stuart propriety, 'Winter' is not really solitary. Her turned head and gaze imply that the print's viewer is her companion: an impression subtly reinforced by the way her shoe appears to enter our space.

Hollar's 'Seasons' were among his most successful productions. His three-quarter-length set (1641) became the only English-made prints marketed in continental Europe in 1600–1650.[63] The cheapest set – the half-length 'Seasons' Hollar etched for Peter Stent – proved so popular that Stent offered copies within a year of issuing Hollar's originals.[64]



20 *A Group of Muffs and Articles of Dress on a Table*, 1647
Inscribed: 'WHollar fecit Aqua forti 1647' (bottom centre) and 'Antuerpiae'
Pennington 1951
11×21 cm.

21 *Aula Veneris* [title], 1644
Inscribed (as small print section of title): '...quas Wenceslaus Hollar, Bohemus, ex maiori/parte in ipsis locis ad vivas delineavit, caeterasque/per alios delineari curauit, & Aqua forti æri in=/=sculpsit, Londini A 1644'
Pennington 1805, state i
10×16 cm.


AVLA VENERIS
sive
Varietas Fœminini
Sexus, diverſarum Europæ
Nationum, differentiag habi
tuum, ut in qvælibet Prov icia
ſunt apud illas nunc vſi .ri.
quas Wenceſlaus Hollar Bohemus, ex maiori
parte in ipſis locis ad vivas delineavit, cæteras q
per alias delineari curavit, & Aqua fortis æri in-
ſculpſit. Londini A° 1644.

Between 1642 and 1647, Hollar produced eight fashion still lifes of women's clothing and accessories. He began the series in London, continuing it (at the rate of one or two prints a year) after he moved to Antwerp in 1644.[65] The prints have the air of private projects, but Hollar would have realized that their technical quality would impress dealers in Antwerp, where he had to re-establish himself professionally.

A Group of Muffs and Articles of Dress on a Table (no. 20) is closely related to the still life Hollar etched for the 1644 title page of *Aula Veneris (The Court of Venus)* (no. 21), a set of costume studies. On the title page, a muff draped with a lace scarf shares a tabletop with a fan, pearls, a brush and comb, ribbons,

high-heeled shoes with rosettes, a jewel-box and a handmirror, among other items.[66] The title itself is inscribed on a lace-trimmed linen cloth suspended from a wooden frame. Cupid flies across it, bow in hand, holding up a flaming heart shot full of arrows. The viewers of these women of many nations, it is implied, will lose their hearts to them.

In these still lifes, Hollar indulged his fascination with furs – an obsession with an erotic element.[67] Still life is a rare subject in seventeenth-century prints. Fur still lifes are rare in any medium. The prints were also artistic challenges: exercises in creating visually interesting designs from a limited stock of props, and in rendering a variety of textures. Some muffs can be identified in more than one print, as well as in other 1640s prints by Hollar.[68] They may have belonged originally to the Countess of Arundel. Aristocratic ladies often passed on their finery to their personal maids, and in 1639 Hollar had married the Countess's waiting woman, Margaret Tracy, who might well have received items from her mistress.[69]

22 *The Peace of Munster*, 1648

Inscribed on either side of the date, '5 Junij/1648' (at the bottom of the long framed inscription): 'Wenceslaus Hollar delineauit et fecit Aqua forti, Antverpiae'

Pennington 561, state i

22×34 cm.

In 1648, the Treaty of Westphalia ended decades of war between Catholics and Protestants in Europe. Under the terms of the Treaty, the Peace of Munster – by which the Habsburg dynasty recognized the United Provinces (Holland) – was declared in Antwerp in 1648. The long Dutch inscription translates as:

> 'Proper Representation and Manner, of the publication of the Peace between his Majesty the King of Spain, and the Lords States General of the United Netherlands, in front of the Town Hall of Antwerp...5 June 1648'

The inscription says Hollar drew ('delineavit') the scene, so he must have been present for the declaration ceremony. He could not have drawn the detailed archi-

tecture at one session, so consulted an etching of the Town Hall Square by Pieter van der Borcht - without copying it slavishly.[70] The buildings in the left foreground, the ceremonial stand in front of the Town Hall, and the people, are entirely Hollar's own.[71] As usual, he gives us all the details: the trumpeters waiting at either end of the platform, the rear view of Flemish ladies wearing their strange 'huke' headdress (a veil suspended from a ball-topped beanie-like cap), the adventurous boys who have scrambled up to the balcony at left for a better view. The stillness of the crowd may reflect the fact that the Peace closed the Scheldt River to trade, ensuring that Antwerp would not recover its commercial superiority over Amsterdam.

23 *Theatrum Mulierum*, [ca. 1643]
open at *Mulier Nobilis Hispanica* (A Spanish Noblewoman)
Pennington 1804 - 1907
8.9×5.4 cm.

This bound set of prints from Hollar's *Theatrum Mulierum* (Theatre of Women) includes depictions of women's costumes from Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, Persia - and Virginia. All social classes are represented. For non-European costumes, Hollar relied on other artists, as the title page of the sequel to Theatrum Mulierum (the Aula Veneris) makes clear.[72] His print of '*Mulier ex Virginia*' ('A Virginian Woman') derives from an illustration by Theodor de Bry (1528-1598) for Thomas Harriot's A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia (Frankfurt, 1595).[73]

All but one of the women have generic facial features - unlike most of the women in *Ornatus Muliebris* (nos. 15-18 above).[74] Modestly priced, attractive examples of a popular subject, these costume prints were a natural choice for a printmaker launching himself on the commercial market. Hollar made 105 similarly-sized prints with Latin titles. Most surviving sets of *Theatrum Mulierum* contain about fifty prints. Every set is bound in a different order, since collectors arranged prints as they wished, adding additional prints over time.

In 1643 the London publisher Peter Stent issued a set with additional English lettering, identified on the title page as 'First Part' of a publication.[75] The second part was *Aula Veneris* ('The Court of Venus'), published in London in 1644. Hollar

must have taken the copperplates with him when he moved to Antwerp, as later impressions of its title page bear the address of the Antwerp publisher Jan Meyssens. In exile, Hollar continued producing similar costume prints. They sold well. Offered for sale in the Royal Exchange in the mid-1600s, his *Theatrum Mulierum* prints were still being produced in the early 1800s.[76]

24 *Antwerp Cathedral*, 1649

Inscribed in lower left corner, within the design: 'Wenceslaus Hollar delineavit, et fecit, 1649'

Pennington 824, state ii

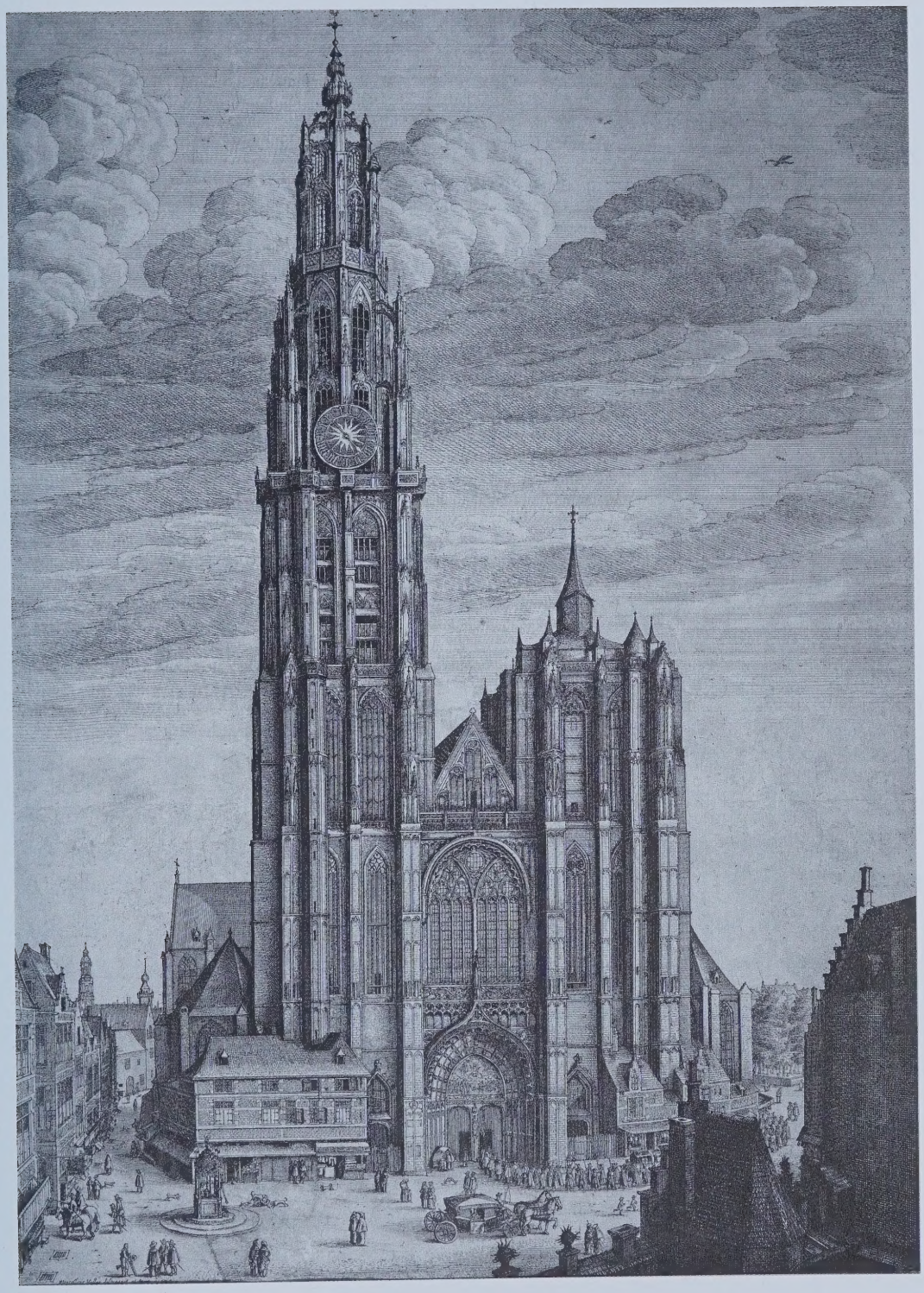
47.3×34.0 cm

One of Hollar's most impressive prints, this view of the west end of Antwerp's *Onze Lieve Vrouw* (Notre-Dame) Cathedral emphasizes the building's size and Gothic architecture. Hollar's drawings of the building survive in Berlin and Keswick.[77]

Onze Lieve Vrouw Cathedral was built ca. 1352–1530, in a variety of architectural styles culminating in the lacy filigree of the topmost sections of the north tower (the only tower completed). The first state of this print bore a Latin inscription naming the building. This impression belongs to the second state, in which the Latin was replaced by a new inscription giving the cathedral tower's height in Latin, Flemish and French. The focus was now on the architecture: specifically, on the amazing size of the building, the largest Gothic church in the Spanish Netherlands.

Hollar emphasized the cathedral's height by setting the north tower against a background of clouds. At right is a flying stork; as storks prefer high nesting sites, this is another reminder of the tower's great height. Tiny people and animals at the foot of the great cathedral contrast with its bulk. The funeral procession at right is that of a wealthy Catholic. Burial in *Onze Lieve Vrouw* was reserved for the important and rich – the very people who might buy this large, fine print. The lady passing in her carriage in front of the cathedral belongs to this social class.

Only an expert etcher could produce the wonderful range of tones in this print, from the palest clouds to the shadowy foreground rooftops. The English



antiquary Richard Symonds (1617–1692), who visited Hollar's studio in Antwerp in 1649, recorded the care with which Hollar etched his plates.[78]

At lower left, a beggar approaches three gentleman, his crutch under one arm and his hat in his hand. Immediately underneath this little vignette, Hollar has signed his own name: 'Wenceslaus Hollar delineavit, et fecit' ('Wenceslaus Hollar drew it, and made it'): a witty visual plea for money. As the print bears no publisher's name, he must have marketed it himself. Though Hollar joined Antwerp's artists' guild (the Guild of St. Luke) in 1644–45,[79] and worked for leading Antwerp publishers like Joannes Meyssens (1612–1670) and Frans van den Wyngaerde (1614–1679),[80] he was back in London by 1652. Perhaps London offered brighter future prospects for a printmaker. While Antwerp's economy declined, London was rapidly developing into the economic capital of Europe.

25 *Muscarum Scarabeorum... Varie Figure*, 1646
Inscribed (under title): 'Hollar fecit 1646'
Pennington 2164, state i
8×12 cm.

According to this title page for *Muscarum Scarabeorum*, Hollar copied the prints from a set of coloured drawings belonging to the Earl of Arundel. The original artist of those drawings is unknown. There are eleven prints of insects in the set, plus one snail (see no. 26). The lighthearted design of the title page indicates the nature of the prints: enjoyable images of pretty butterflies and moths, rather than scientific studies. Butterflies, dragonflies and a moth have alighted upon a framed cartouche, arranging themselves symmetrically. The frame is drawn as a three-dimensional object resting on the ground, with a distant view of rolling countryside. The air is filled with insects, flying far and near.

In 1640s Europe, most people's interest in insects was primarily aesthetic. Images of them abound in seventeenth-century Flemish and Dutch paintings. These prints seem to have been intended for the Antwerp market, as they do not appear in the sales catalogues of English printsellers. Originally unnumbered, they are found in different orders in early bound sets.[81]

As a Bohemian, Hollar may have known about Joris Hoefnagel (1542–1600). Hoefnagel's manuscript illuminations of flowers and insects, painted for the

Emperor Rudolf of Prague, were celebrated and very influential, especially in Antwerp, Hoefnagel's native city. His son Jacob Hoefnagel (1575–ca. 1630) engraved copies of his father's paintings, producing images of 302 insects with the aid of a convex lens. Living in Antwerp, Hollar could have consulted these, as they were published in Nicolaas Jansz. Visscher's *Diversæ insectorum volatium icones ad vivum accuratissimae depictæ per celeberrimum pictorem D.I. Hoefnagel* (Amsterdam, 1630).[82]

26 *Four Caterpillars and a Snail*, 1646

Inscribed: 'WHollar fecit, ex Collectione Arun=/deliana, A° 1646

Pennington 2167

8×12 cm.

Most of the drawings Hollar consulted for his *Muscarum Scarabeorum* depicted butterflies and moths, so could have been drawn from dead insects pinned to supports and kept in boxes or drawers in natural history collections. Dead caterpillars and snails could not be as easily preserved. These look very much alive. The furry caterpillars - muffs on the move - would have particularly delighted Hollar.

He could have observed live caterpillars and snails in London, where there were already some collections of live insects, particularly silkworms. King James I promoted the planting of mulberry trees for silk production.[83] However, none of these caterpillars are silkworms, and inventories of the Earl's collections do not include much natural history material. Arundel did own shells, coral branches and petrified wood, and acquired fourteen sets of antlers along with the Pirckheimer library in Nuremberg in 1636.[84]

27 *Forty-One Insects*, [ca. 1646]

Pennington 2175A (only known state)

34×22 cm.

This rare print, attributed to Hollar, combines insects, caterpillars and a snail - some of which also appear in his *Muscarum Scarabeorum*.[85] The plate is so neatly etched, and the individual creatures so highly finished (except for one), that this

print may have been intended for eventual sale. The faint image of the winged insect at the top, between the two swallowtail butterflies, suggests that this particular impression was made before the plate was completed. Similar single-sheet prints of insects, animals or flowers were sold in London as needlework designs.

From the mid-1600s, publisher Peter Stent and his successor John Overton published single sheets and books of natural history images. Ladies selected their favourite images for embroidery, copying them themselves, or having them copied by servants or professional pattern-drawers.[86] Hence, some of the same images of plants, animals, insects and birds reappear in many surviving seventeenth-

century embroideries. Real or imaginary insects were particularly popular for their fantastic shapes and colours. They could be rendered in fanciful combinations of embroidery silks and sequins, and were useful to fill empty spaces between larger motifs.

At bottom left, the snail and two caterpillars from *Four Caterpillars and a Snail* (no. 26) appear in reverse. Hollar copied straight from one print onto the copperplate for the other, without bothering to reverse the design. It did not matter to him which way around the final image appeared.

28 *Fasciolaria tulipa L.* [early 1650s?]
Pennington 2200
6×10 cm.

This tiny etching of a tulip shell comes from a set of thirty-eight prints of shells attributed to Hollar (Pennington 2187–2224). The set is one of Hollar's most original contributions to printmaking. Prints of shells were very rare in his period. Hollar's shell prints are thought to have inspired Rembrandt's only still life print, of a *Conus marmoreus* shell.[87]

A comparison between this print and the two specimens of *Fasciolaria tulipa* exhibited alongside it shows that Hollar copied the shell's patterning so accurately, that the exact species of tulip shell can be identified. However, he drew the shell (or copied someone's drawing of the shell) onto the printing plate just as he saw it, without allowing for the reversal of the design that takes place during printing. Consequently, in the finished print the tulip shell spirals to the left (i.e. it has a 'sinistral coil'). In reality, tulip shells spiral to the right (i.e. they have a 'dextral coil'). Scientific accuracy was inessential to Hollar and his customers, as long as the shell was identifiable and its beauty evident. Most natural history collections in Northern Europe were still accumulations of natural 'curiosities' (the rare, beautiful or bizarre), rather than aids to scientific study.

The tulip shell in this print is native to the Americas, so would have been a collector's item imported to London by the Virginia Trading Company. Alternatively, it may have come through Antwerp or Amsterdam, both centres for transoceanic trading networks, and therefore for shell-dealing.[88] The print itself would have sold in any of these cities, as collectors valued images of curiosi-

ties, not just curiosities themselves.[89] They sometimes published illustrated catalogues of their collections to advertise them, and the prestigious visitors they attracted.[90] Some, like London's Tradescant family, exhibited their shells to the paying public.[91]

As some of these Hollar shell prints in the Fisher were inscribed (in the late 1600s or early 1700s) with the Dutch names of the shells, they were probably once owned by a Dutch shell collector. The 'tulipmania' that seized Dutch speculators in the 1640s was accompanied by 'shellmania'. Tulip shells are named for their perceived resemblance to a closed tulip flower. Shells feature frequently in Dutch and Flemish still lifes, and in a few history paintings and portraits.[92]

29 John Ogilby (1600–1676). *The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro. Translated, Adorn'd with Sculpture, and Illustrated with Annotations* (London: Thomas Warren for the Author, 1654)
Folio, with illustrations by Francis Cleyn, Wenceslaus Hollar, William Faithorne, and Pierre Lombart (after Francis Cleyn).

Classical literature was the foundation of education for the English socio-economic elite. From the mid-seventeenth century, a market developed in Britain for translations of ancient Greek and Roman classics into English. The enterprising author and publisher John Ogilby taught himself Greek and Latin, publishing his own English-verse translations of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[93]

Ogilby's first *Aeneid* translation came out in 1649 as a small book without pictures.[94] But that year, a lavishly-illustrated French *Aeneid* was published in Paris by Michel de Marolles (1600–1681).[95] The pictures were by 'F.C.': possibly Francis Cleyn (1582–1658), a former tapestry designer for Charles I.[96]

Five years later, Ogilby himself published an English equivalent: *The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro. Translated, Adorn'd with Sculpture* [i.e. prints], *and Illustrated with Annotations*. He used the same printer who had printed his 1649 *Virgil*, but as sole publisher, Ogilby now kept all profits. For this 1654 *Aeneid*, Ogilby commissioned illustrations from Hollar, and from Francis Cleyn, William Faithorne (ca. 1620–1691) and Pierre Lombart (1612/13–1682). Hollar based his

forty-three illustrations on Cleyn's designs, which were derived from the 'F.C.' illustrations in de Marolle's Virgil.[97]

The print shown, Hollar's *The Golden Bough* (Pennington 311, state i), was published in the 1654 *Aeneid*: Virgil's hero Aeneas breaks off a golden bough from the tree at the entrance to the Underworld, place of the dead. Aeneas's mother the goddess Venus passes overhead in her chariot. She has sent two doves to guide Aeneas to the branch. Only those chosen by the gods may possess it. The golden bough will give Aeneas and his guide, the Cumaen Sibyl (prophetess) access to the Underworld, where they will visit the dead.[98]

The plate is dedicated to its sponsor Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), who later hired Hollar to illustrate his own book.

30 John Ogilby (1600–76). *The Fables of Aesop/Paraphras'd in Verse, and Adorn'd with Sculpture; by John Ogilby* (London: Printed by Thomas Warren for Andrew Crook, 1651)

31 John Ogilby (1600–76). *The Fables of Aesop/Paraphras'd in Verse, and Adorn'd with Sculpture; by John Ogilby* (London: Printed by Thomas Roycroft for the author, 1665)

The *Fables* of the ancient Greek author Aesop (620–560 B.C.) obsessed English readers from 1651 to the mid-1700s. Stories about survival in a ruthless world, they were well-suited to an age of shifting loyalties and struggles for power. Aesop's *Fables* had been children's stories for centuries; they now also played an important role in adult political and social discourse.

Much of this was due to John Ogilby's English-language translations and imitations of Aesop's *Fables*. His verse *Aesop*, the work of a Royalist enduring life under a victorious Parliamentary regime, first appeared as a modestly-priced quarto book in 1651 (no. 30). In 1665, Ogilby published an expensive folio *Aesop* (no. 31)[99] with illustrations designed by Francis Cleyn. Fifty-seven of them were etched by Hollar.[100]

Most copies of this folio probably perished in 1666, when the Great Fire of London destroyed Ogilby's stock. Hollar's copperplates were rescued, as his

illustrations were reprinted from them for Ogilby's 1668 replacement edition.

Even before the Fire, Ogilby was writing his own fables satirizing life after the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 – a time of disappointed hopes for Royalists and Parliamentarians alike. In 1668, he published fifty as *Aesopic's; or A Second Collection of Fables, Paraphras'd in Verse: Adorn'd with Sculpture, and Illustrated by Annotations* (London, 1668). Hollar contributed eighteen illustrations.

Smaller editions of Ogilby's *Aesop* (1673) and *Aesopic's* (1675) catered for readers unable to afford costly folios. Hollar's eloquent visual interpretations of Ogilby's texts set a new standard in British book illustration.

32 *The Belly and the Members*, 1654

Inscribed lower centre (within image): 'WHollar fecit'; and lower right, '47'

Pennington 368, state i

25×17 cm

Ogilby's English-language *Aesop* is a Royalist's coded commentary on life under Oliver Cromwell.[101] The book is open at *The Belly and the members.* The relevance of Aesop's *The Belly and the Members* would have been obvious to readers living through the subversion of traditional social and political hierarchies in post-Civil War England. In Aesop's fable, the rebel Hands, Feet, Teeth and Tongue went on strike, refusing to work while the Belly seemed idle. After a day's leisure, they grew weak and died for lack of food.

Ogilby's text differs. His readers would have understood it had a dual meaning – the reference to 'Levellers' in its opening verses referring to a real-life radical movement within Parliamentarian ranks. After Cromwell became Lord Protector in 1653, extremist 'Levellers' plotted against him. Though a Royalist, Ogilby would have viewed the prospect of continued unrest with alarm. He reminds his readers of the execution of Charles I in 1649, warning them:

> 'None for themselves are born...
> Concord builds high, when Discord ruins States.
> But th'chief Cause did our Destruction bring,
> Was, we Rebell'd 'gainst Reason and our King.'
>
> MORAL

'Civil Commotions strongly carried on
Seldom bring quiet when the War is done:
Then thousand Interests in strange shapes appear,
And through all ways to certain Ruine steer.'

In Hollar's illustration, the Body brandishes a sword, having lopped off its own Head. Not included in Aesop's original version of the fable, this decapitation represents Charles I's execution. The rebelliously-kicking Hands and Feet will starve to death, despite the ample food in the kitchen behind them. The message: the unnatural revolt of the more lowly members of the body politic threatens all English society.[102]

This fable has a long history of being cited in defence of governments threatened by insurrection, starting with Menenius Agrippa, consul of Rome in 503 B.C.. It appears in works by Shakespeare, Milton and Marx,[103] but is less well known today than other Aesop fables such as 'The Tortoise and the Hare'. Nevertheless, it features prominently in Robertson Davies' play '*A Masque of Aesop*' (Toronto, 1952), written for the boys of Upper Canada College.

33 *The Oak and the Reed*, 1665
Inscribed (at lower right): '67'
Pennington 382
26×17 cm

Though unsigned, this print from the 1665 and 1668 folio editions of Ogilby's *Aesop* is attributed to Hollar. It represents Aesop's fable *The Tree and the Reed*, in which a tree, not specifically identified as an oak, boasts to a reed of its own height and strength. The reed replies that though less grand, it is content because it feels safer. A hurricane blows down the tree, but the weak reed bends before the storm and is soon upright again. Aesop's moral was that it can be safer to lead an obscure life.

Ogilby's translation was first published in 1651, when Royalists were losing the Civil War. He advises readers not to fight on hopelessly against a Foe (i.e. Parliamentarians):

> 'Though strong, resist not a too potent Foe;
> Madmen against a violent Torrent row.
> Thou mayst hereafter serve the Common-weal;
> Then yield till Time shall later Acts repeal.'

In 1651, oaks were already associated with the British monarchy. In an anonymous engraving *The Royall Oake of Brittayne* (1649), Royalists struggle to prop up an oak tree hung with the royal insignia, the Royal Arms, Magna Carta, and statutes - while a diabolically-inspired Oliver Cromwell directs his followers to chop it down.[104] Charles II had just escaped capture after his defeat at the Battle of Worcester by hiding in an oak tree, later dubbed the 'Royal Oak'. Royalists thereafter promoted oaks as monarchist symbols. Charles II's coronation medal

featured an oak tree bearing a crown, with the words '*Iam Florescit*' ('Now it flourishes'); and the day of his return to London became an official holiday, 'Oak-Apple Day'.[105] In 1660, Hollar was to etch *Charles I in the Boscobel Oak* (Pennington 567) for a publication relating the King's escape after Worcester.[106]

The oak in this illustration remains rooted though bent over by strong winds: a Royalist symbol of monarchy surviving the Parliamentarian storm.

34 *The Swan and the Stork*, 1666

Inscribed at lower left (in image): 'W Hollar fecit 1666'

Pennington 394, state i

26×20 cm.

One of John Ogilby's original fables commenting on Restoration life, this was first published in his *Aesopic's: or A second Collection of Fables* (London, 1668). In the story, a Royalist Swan encounters an ex-Parliamentarian Stork, 'Prime Leader of the Hypocritick Crew', who is now a royal courtier of his former enemy Charles II.[107] The Swan's long hair and cloak, typically Royalist, are out-of-date, signaling his old loyalty and his current lack of a court position.[108] The Stork, in contrast, has abandoned his Puritan gear and wears the latest court fashions.[109] It was important for the ambitious to be seen in the latest elite fashions, set by the King himself.[110] The Stork also has a new song:

> 'The long-bill'd Bird his old Note changing sings.
> I am the King's Canary-Bird ! the King's !'

Ogilby's Royalist Swan represents Ogilby himself, whose 'Loyal Pen' supported Charles II even when it was dangerous to do so, but was not rewarded with an appointment or pension on the King's return to power.[111] By 1666, when this book was published, the Restoration had already proved disillusioning for many.

35 *Animalivm, ferarvm,& bestiarvm, florvm, fructvm, muscarum, vermiumqe* [title page], 1663

Inscribed at lower left: 'W. Hollar sculpt: 1663'

Pennington 2064, state iii

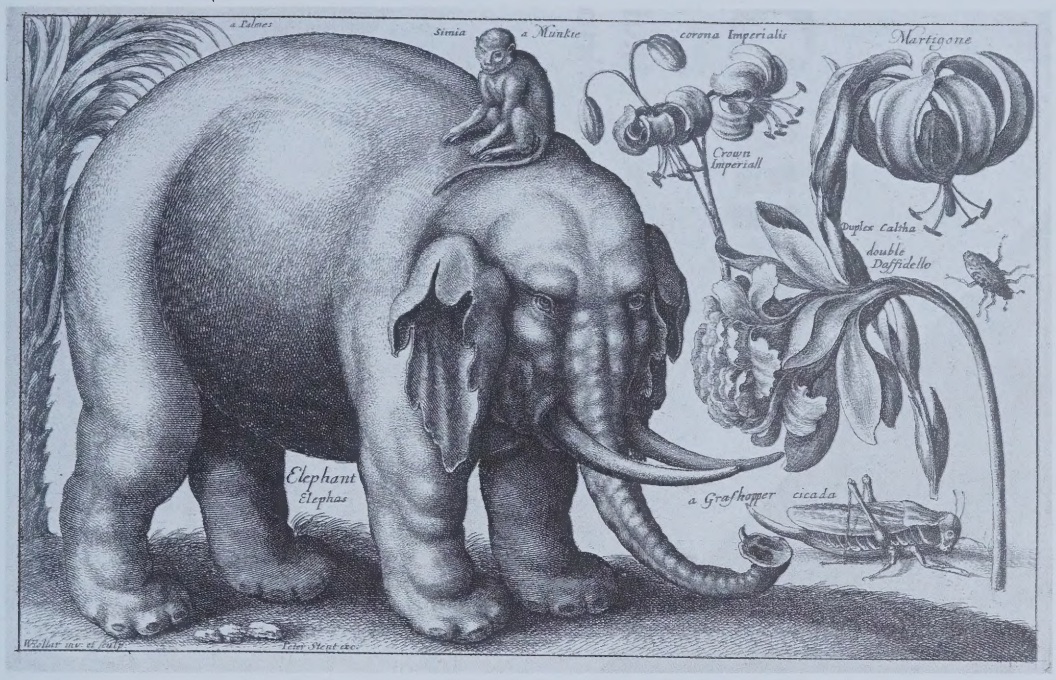
17×28 cm.

This is Hollar's title page for a set of prints initially published in 1663 by Peter Stent, London's largest publisher. Natural history prints evidently sold well: in 1662, Stent offered customers some eighteen natural history titles (281 prints).[112] Moreover, they could be cheap to produce. Since animals and flowers did not go out of fashion quickly, natural history plates could be reprinted for years, and some of Stent's came from plates made in the 1620s or earlier.[113] For new sets of prints, publishers encouraged printmakers to recycle designs from older prints, or – as here – divided work among a number of printmakers, paid by the hour.[114] *Animalivm ferarum* was designed by Hollar but executed by Hollar, John Dunstall, David Loggan, and Peter Williamson.

In the foreground, real and unreal animals, including a unicorn (at far right), mingle implausibly. This is not a naturalistic herd, but a crowd of collectable specimens. As in many seventeenth-century prints, the elephant and rhinoceros are placed side by side, because they were considered natural enemies. Hollar had already etched copies of animal prints or drawings by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528),[115] and consulted Dürer's 1515 woodcut, *Rhinosceros*[116] for the rhinoceros – as artists did for centuries. He copied the cat and rabbit unaltered from Dürer's *Adam and Eve* (1504), ensuring that in the final print they would appear reversed, and less easily recognizable. It was easier to find magnificent horses in Hieronymus Wierix's set of horse prints, *The Stable of Don John of Austria*, ca. 1578 than to copy them from London nags.[117]

The background garden is laid out in the fashion of seventeenth-century aristocratic gardens. Each plant is placed apart from its neighbours, so it may be individually appreciated. Tulips, one of the most-collected flowers of the age, are included.[118] A similarly-planted garden appears in the frontispiece of Crispijn de Passe's influential *Hortus Floridus*, a print set of 1614.[119]

Stent probably died in the Great Plague in 1665, when John Overton took over his business. For this third-state impression, Overton had the plate redated to 1674, and Stent's name replaced by his own.



36 *Elephant and Flowers*, 1663

Inscribed (at lower left): 'WHollar inv: et sculp: Peter Stent exc.'

Pennington 2066, state ii

17×27 cm

In this delightful print from *Animalivm ferarvm*, animals, insects, trees and flowers are combined with joyous disregard for their relative dimensions - as often in seventeenth-century English natural history prints. Hollar drew the individual plants precisely, but misidentified the tigerlily (*Lilium lancifolium*) as a 'corona Imperialis'. This mistake - about a Crown Imperial (*Fritillaria imperialis*), one of the most expensive and collectible garden plants of the age - speaks volumes about the function of such natural history prints. They were entertainment, not accurate botanical reference works. Linnaeus still lay well in the future.[120]

Strangest of all is the elephant. One would think from its drooping ears and morose expression that Hollar had never seen a real or naturalistically-drawn elephant. In fact, he had already etched naturalistic elephants, probably from life, in 1629/30 (see no. 37). Elephants were not unknown in seventeenth-century London - one lived in the menagerie at the Tower of London.[121] Hollar must have been in a hurry, as he borrowed the elephant for no. 36 from a drawing by Francis

Barlow. He had already copied the same drawing in 1662 as *Elephant and Camel* (Pennington 2082), for a set of animal prints designed by famous painters.[122]

37 *The Tame Elephant*, 1629

Inscribed (lower left corner of design): 'WH', and under the six-line inscription below the elephant in the large central compartment, 'Anno 1629/I. Heyde excudit'

Pennington 2119

24×28 cm.

This early print by Hollar is included here for comparison with no. 36, *Elephant and Flowers* (1663). In 1629 Hollar had etched *The Tame Elephant* in Strasbourg for the publisher Jakob van der Heyden. He copied the largest elephant from a 1563 etching by Gerard von Gronigen, but drew the surrounding sketches himself[123] – evidence that he had studied a real elephant long before producing unreal elephants for London publishers. Along the top of the print, the tame elephant performs its repertoire of tricks: drinking wine, spraying it into its mouth, helping its master climb up to its back, and carrying him on its trunk. At lower left, it lies on its side.

Hollar's willingness to cut corners for *Elephant and Flowers* (no. 36) in 1662–1663 may be due to his workload for that year, which included several large, complex prints for Ogilby's *The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II in his Passage through the City of London to his Coronation* (1662); and Ashmole's *Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (1672).

38 *Angling*, 1671

Inscribed (lower left, in design: 'F. Barlow inu: W. Hollar fecit'

Pennington 2033, state I

17×23 cm

Hollar etched four plates and the title page in Francis Barlow's *Severall Wayes of Hunting, Hawking, and Fishing, Acording to the English Manner invented by Francis Barlow. Etched by W: Hollar* (London, 1671). Most of the remaining nine

Angling on river banks, trowling for pike,
Is noble Sport, when as the fish doth strike,
ANGLING.
And when your pleasure's over, then at night,
You and your freinds, doe eate them with delight.

prints in the set were probably etched by Barlow himself, or by Robert Gaywood (1650–1711)[124] – though only Hollar's name features on the title page.

Angling was produced at speed: the tree foliage is scribbled, and the shading lines on clouds irregular. Like the rest of the set, it presents 'field sports' as an entirely masculine activity. Seven men are sport-fishing in a river teaming with fish, judging from the quantity already landed. And yet the fish are still biting: every fishing-line in the water is taut. The cage-like basket half-submerged in the foreground will keep the catch fresh until it is time to go home. At upper right the fisherman's hated rival, a heron, is leaving. The river winds on into the distance, flowing under a stone bridge crossed by a rider, to a ruined abbey and mountains.

The most prominent fisherman at left is a fashionably-dressed gentleman (perhaps even an aristocrat). The popularity of angling as a gentlemanly recreation was further promoted by Isaak Walton's *The Compleat Angler*, or, *the Contemplative Man's Recreation. Being a Discourse of Fish and Fishing, not Unworthy the Perusal of most Anglers* (London, 1653): already in its sixth edition when Hollar etched Angling. The book remains in print. *Severall Wayes of Hunting* was still being sold in 1795, presumably reprinted from the original plates.

39 *Navivm variae figura et formae* [title page] 1647

Inscribed (on stern of ship): 'WHollar inu et fecit', and on a large crate at right: 'Clemendt de Jonghe exc.'

Pennington 1261, state ii

15×24 cm.

This is Hollar's title page for a set of twelve ship prints, produced in Antwerp in 1647 from drawings he made while visiting the United Provinces (Holland) in 1634.[125] Two of the prints in the set feature trading company ships, from the Dutch East India Company (Pennington 1263) and Dutch West India Company (Pennington 1252). These merchants's associations were the first largescale multinational corporations. They sought to monopolize the intercontinental spice trade, by violence if necessary. The prints would have been marketable wherever Company shareholders abounded, primarily in Holland and the Spanish Netherlands.

The title page depicts at least six Dutch ships, probably at an East India Company dock. Two men stand with their backs to us, reading the title inscribed on the stern of a docked ship. At right and left, merchants stand on cargo-littered docks, while another sits on a cannon barrel in the foreground, smoking his pipe. Other cannon barrels lie about the dock, probably for export to the Company's Asian outposts, which were heavily armed. Foreground crates numbered '5' and '2' bear merchants' marks (as yet unidentified). The name of the publisher of this second-state impression is inscribed on the largest crate in the foreground: Clement de Jonghe (1624/25-1679), who also published many Rembrandt etchings.

40 *Jan Nieuhoff, An Embassy from the East-India Company to the Emperour of China* [title page], 1668

Inscribed (at lower left corner, in design): 'W. Hollar fecit, 1668'

Pennington 2682, state i

32×21 cm

In 1655-1657, the Dutch East India Company's ambassadors visited Peking, seeking permission for the Company to trade at Macau. Company employee Jan

Nieuhoff (1618–1672) went along to record everything he saw in drawings. In 1665 his brother Hendrick produced a book based on Jan's notes and drawings.[126] Within four years, translations had been published in French, German, English and Latin.

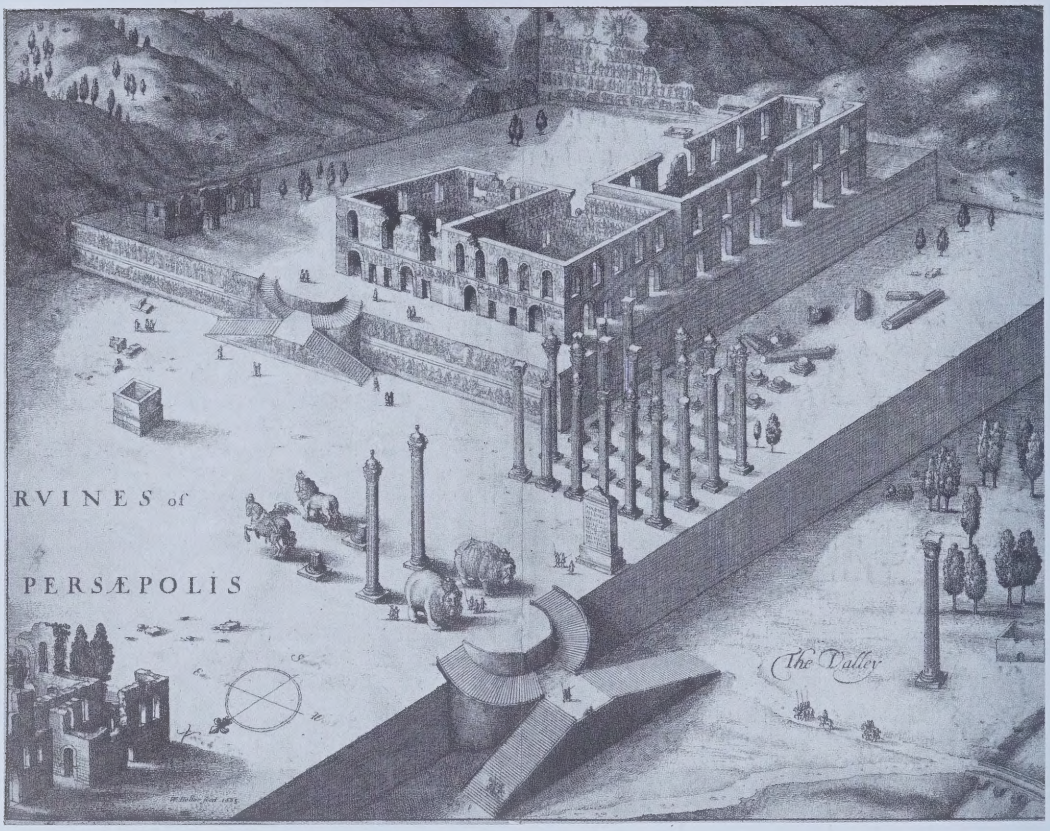
Hollar's title page was made for the English translation: John Ogilby's *An Embassy sent by the East-India Company of the United Provinces to the Great Tartar Cham or Emperour of China* (London, 1669). Hollar copied the title page engraved by Jacob de Meurs for the French translation published at Leiden in 1665. Most of the illustrations to Ogilby's English translation came from that French edition.

In the 1660s, China was already the dominant power in the world economy. As the British lacked a significant share of the lucrative Asia trade, they could only imagine what China might be like: the source of luxury goods – tea, silks, porcelain, spices – but also a dangerous empire with an all-powerful ruler.[127] Here, the 'Emperour' or 'Great Cham' sits surrounded by men armed with unfamiliar weapons. He rests his hand on a globe, turned to show Asia and part of the Australian coast, still incompletely mapped by Europeans. The Emperor's cruelly-treated prisoners co-exist with yards of damask-patterned silk and a throne of Dutch-type 'auricular' form. Such bizarre blends of European and Asian style helped inspire the European fashion for 'Chinoiserie', a decorative style intended to represent the Asian visual culture which increasingly fascinated the British. In 1700, when John Evelyn visited Pepys, he found in Pepys' home at Clapham 'all the Indys & Chineze Curiositys'.[128]

41 *Persepolis*, 1663

Inscribed (at lower left corner, in design): 'RVINES OF/PERSÆPOLIS',
and lower down within design (below the compass): 'W: Hollar fecit 1663'
Pennington 1140, state ii
26×33 cm.

Hollar's elevated view of the ruins of Persepolis, ancient capital of the Kings of Persia, was published in *Some Yeares Travels into… Africa* (1665) by Sir Thomas Herbert (1606–1682).[129] This was the third edition of Herbert's travel memoirs, first published in 1634 with a crude illustration of Persepolis based on the



author's own drawing.[130] The palace of Persepolis, former capital of the Achaemenid Empire, is located in the Shiraz Mountains of southwest Iran. Though destroyed in 330 B.C. by Alexander the Great, enough survived to impress European visitors in the 1600s.

The seventeenth century was an age of transoceanic exploration, when artists sometimes relied on verbal descriptions to draw places they never saw. Hollar's *Persepolis* is based on careful reading of Herbert's account of Persepolis in his 1634 and 1665 books. The foreground compass (added in this second-state impression) helps readers to correlate Hollar's etching with Herbert's precise directions in the text. Hollar took little from Herbert's own illustration except the columns, with their pointed tops and classical Dorian bases. (Unluckily, Herbert had drawn these incorrectly. The bases of Persepolis's columns were unlike those of any European classical order).[131] Hollar also reproduces the storks' nests Herbert described as crowning some of the columns.[132] He followed Herbert's account of the four monstrous sculptures at the top of the stairs in the foreground, ignoring the 1634 illustration – which shows them as tiny carvings on top of walls.[133]

The cuneiform-like inscription on the tall slab-like monument near the huge sculptures represents one of the earliest attempts by a European to depict cuneiform lettering. Hollar followed Herbert's description of Persepolis inscriptions as resembling 'pyramids inverted or with bases upwards, triangles or deltas'.[134]

Hollar's old patron Arundel had a connection with Persepolis. Herbert had suggested, on his return from Persepolis, that some prince or nobleman should send an artist to draw the deteriorating ruins before it was too late. The Earl of Arundel, curious as ever about antiquities, responded promptly. He had 'dispatched a youth thither, whom Mr. Norgate recommended to his Lordship for one he knew could both design and copy well; but I hear he died by the way at or near Surat, before he could reach Persia...'[135]

42 *Prospect of the Inner Part of Tangier*, 1669
Inscribed below: 'Prospect of ye Inner part of Tangier, with the vpper Castle, from South-East./W: Hollar delineauit et scul:'
Pennington 1192, state ii
13×22 cm.

After mapping London (see nos. 62 and 63 below), Hollar petitioned Charles II successfully in 1666 for the title of 'His Majesties Scenographer or Designer of Prospects'. In 1668 he asked Charles to let him accompany 'the Lord Ambassador Henry Howard (with whose Grand-father I was in such like Employment)' on a royal embassy to the Emperor of Morocco.

Hollar had already mapped Tangier from a written description, as he did Persepolis (see no. 41), but he explained to Charles that this was an unsatisfactory method.[136] His petition granted, Hollar sailed to Tangier in 1669 with Lord Henry Howard (1628–1684). He stayed eighteen months, narrowly escaping capture by Barbary pirates on the voyage home.[137] Hollar's Tangier etchings were published by John Overton in 1673 as a set '*Exactly Delineated by W: Hollar; His Mayties Designer, A° 1669, and by Him Afterward to Satisfie the Curious, Etshd in Copper*'.[138]

In 1662, the British acquired Tangier as part of the dowry of Princess Catherine of Braganza, who married Charles II that year. The British garrisoned

Tangier and gave its streets familiar English names, but could not afford to maintain it, abandoning it to Moroccans in 1684.[139] Hollar shows us Tangier from the southeast. A British flag flies from Peterborough Tower (at no. 2), but nobody in the Market Place (at no. 4) seems to be selling anything. High walls surround the colony: it was not safe to go outside. Near the 'Governour's House' (at no. 1), cannons point seaward. The coast of Spain is just visible in the distance at right.

43 *Warships and a Spouting Whale*, 1665
Inscribed (at lower right): 'W. Hollar inu: et sculp: 1665. Peter Stent exc:'
Pennington 1275, state ii
13×27 cm.

Hollar made four etchings of sailing vessels in stormy seas for London's Peter Stent in 1665. Republished by John Overton, the set was still being sold in 1795.[140] Hollar made over forty prints of maritime subjects. Maritime art was popular in Restoration England due to international trade and exploration, and the Anglo-Dutch maritime wars. Prints this size would have been affordable for Stent's middle-income customers.

By 1665, Hollar had crossed the Channel more than once: a voyage which, as contemporary accounts attest, could be terrifying. This storm is one of the worst in the set. The print's details are best appreciated with a magnifying glass. Six ships appear, two only discernable by their rigging. Aboard the central warship, about to be swept by a cross-wave, people run for their lives. The ship bears down on a spouting whale, identifiable as a 'right' whale (a favourite target of whalers)

by its calloused head, smooth back, and double spout. Hunted to extinction in the East Atlantic, these whales remain in the West Atlantic, but are threatened by collisions with shipping. The whale in this print is about to become another such casualty, possibly sinking the warship as well. The thrill of danger added to the attraction of these prints.

44 *Sir William Dugdale*, 1658

Inscribed (at lower right, not by Hollar): 'Wen. Hollar delin. et Scul.'

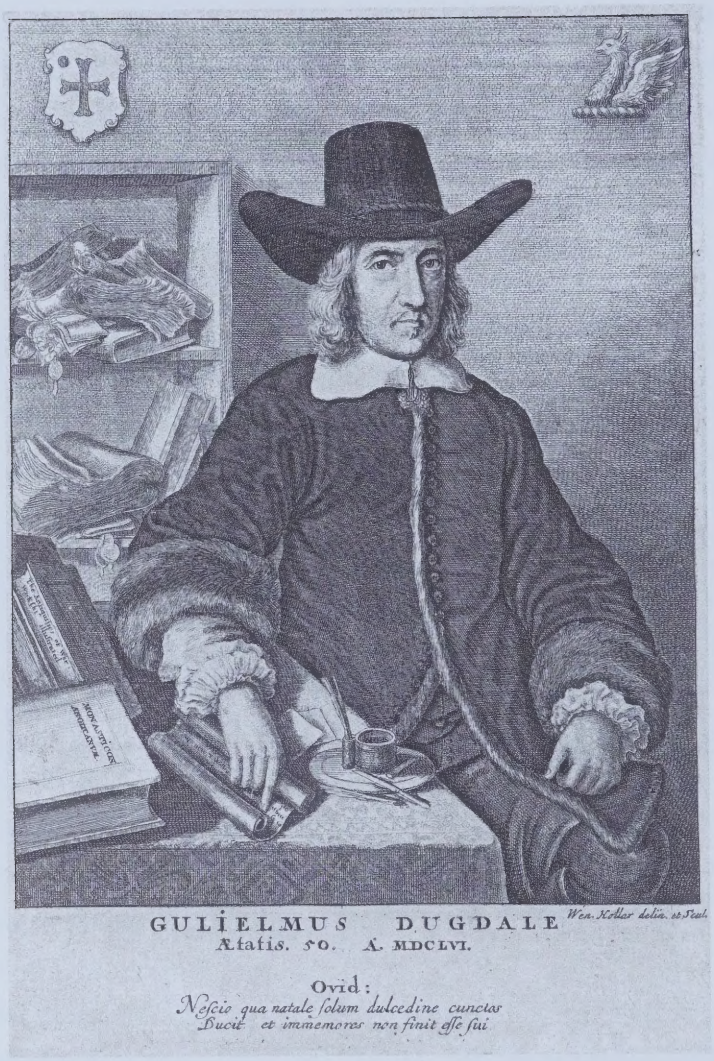
Pennington P1392, state v

25×17 cm.

Wenceslaus Hollar's portrait of the Warwickshire gentleman Sir William Dugdale (1605–89), antiquarian and Royal Herald, was originally etched as a frontispiece for Dugdale's *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated* (London, 1656). Dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton (1605–1670), who financed Dugdale's researches, the book became the most famous county history of its period,[141] with two hundred 'cutts' by Hollar: far more illustrations than in other county histories. Each illustration was paid for by a sponsor recruited by Dugdale, who would have appreciated Hollar's skill in drawing architecture, and his former connection with the Earl of Arundel. Arundel had appointed Dugdale to the College of Arms.

Dugdale is shown at his table below his family coat of arms. A gentleman, he keeps his hat on indoors. He sits beside the books for which he was already famous in 1658: his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, and the first volume of his *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655), publications recording historic documents like those shelved behind Dugdale.[142] Dugdale looks at us as he points to a scroll on the table – its lettering perhaps Hollar's attempt at Anglo-Saxon. The (misspelled) Latin quotation below the portrait is from Ovid's *Epistulæ ex Ponto*, book I, 3, p. 3, lines 35-36. It reads: 'Everyone's native soil draws him by some charm or other, and does not allow him to be forgetful of itself'.[143]

Hollar gave Dugdale the portrait. This impression comes from the 1730 edition of Dugdale's Warwickshire history. The print served as frontispiece to other Dugdale books, including *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London* (London, 1658).[144]


GULIELMUS DUGDALE
Ætatis. 50. A. MDCLVI.
Ovid:
Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos
Ducit et immemores non sinit esse sui

45 *The Combat of Sir John Astley*, 1656
Pennington 530, state ii
29×38 cm.

Hollar's illustration from Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (London, 1656) depicts a sixteenth-century painting Dugdale saw at 'Patteshull' hall in Warwickshire, as described in his text[145]. The painting survives today.[146]

Above, Sir John defeats Pierre de Masse in 1438 at Paris, before the King of France. Below, he defeats Sir Philip Boyle in 1441 at London's Smithfield. At lower right, Sir John is invested with the Order of the Garter. At upper right, he swears he has 'noe charme, herbe, or any enchantment about him'. (Apparently,

cheating at sporting events has a long history).

Hollar probably based his print on a drawing sent to him in London by Dugdale, or by someone else at Dugdale's direction. The author often requested drawings from his network of antiquarian connections. In 1640 he took William Sedgwick, an arms painter employed by Sir Christopher Hatton, to Warwick.[147] There is no record that Hollar visited Warwickshire himself.

46 *Monument of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (1382–1439)*, 1656
Pennington 2359
29×17 cm.

This illustration by Hollar for Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* depicts the medieval monument Dugdale considered the finest in England – save for Henry VII's at Westminster Abbey. An effigy (not a portrait) representing Beauchamp, governor of France and Normandy under King Henry VI, lies under a gilded grille. The etching records inscriptions on the monument, listing the gilded 'weepers' sculpted on the monument's sides. Typically, Dugdale even published the 1448 contract between the Earl's executors and the men who made his tomb.[148]

As a herald, Dugdale valued monuments for their inscriptions and heraldry: solid proof of a family's social rank – and rights. He addressed his book to Warwickshire gentry, as 'a Monumentall Pillar' to their ancestors. This impression was reprinted from Hollar's copperplate for a later edition of Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (Coventry, 1765), published by John Jones, who as an apprentice printer vowed one day to reproduce the book he so admired.

47 *Glastonbury*, 1655
Inscribed (lower right, not by Hollar): 'Ric: Newcourt delin:/W:Hollar sculp:'
Pennington 975
17×29 cm.

Hollar etched this view of Glastonbury for the first volume of *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655) by Roger Dodsworth (1585–1654) and William

Dugdale. As Glastonbury was thought to be the first Christian church founded in Britain, it is the first monastic foundation written about in the book[149]. Dodsworth died before *Monasticon* was published. Dugdale retained Dodsworth's name as author for this volume, though Dugdale himself published all three volumes of the book alone (in 1655, 1661, and 1673)[150]. Written in Latin, the book records the history of monastic foundations, abbeys, churches and cathedrals, based on historical documents. It remains an important reference for modern scholars.

Most of its illustrations were sponsored by donors. Their names and coats of arms appear on each illustration, with inscriptions often expressing hope that the print might preserve the memory of the building depicted. The survival of Anglican religious buildings was still uncertain in the 1650s.[151]

Hollar's *Glastonbury* was sponsored by the alchemist Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), identified in the dedication as '*Mercuriophilus Anglicus*', the 'English Lover of Mercury' - (an ancient Roman god considered the father of alchemy)[152]. Ashmole probably sponsored this print because he believed the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey secreted an 'Elixir' from which one could make the 'Philospher's Stone', to turn base metals to gold[153]. The print is based on one of the drawings Dugdale's friend Richard Newcourt made for *Monasticon*. Hollar's copperplate was acquired by Daniel King (ca. 1616–1661) who made most of *Monasticon's* illustrations. In 1656 King published it, and all Hollar's *Monasticon* prints, as his own work.[154]

48 *St. Paul's from the South Showing the Spire*, 1657

Inscribed at bottom, near middle: 'W. Hollar sculp: 1657'; in upper right, with the name of the dedicatee of the print, 'THOMAS BARLOW...Proto-Bibl: Bodlianus/Oxon.

Pennington 1017

25.×34 cm.

Hollar etched this south view of St. Paul's Cathedral with its spire, burned by a lightning strike in 1561, for Dugdale's *The History of St. Pauls Cathedral in London* (London, 1658), written to record the crumbling building and its contents, and to rally support for funding its repair. In 1642 the building had been closed to

Anglican worship by the Long Parliament, which was dominated by radical Protestants. The renovation program begun under Charles I had stopped.[155]

Hollar's illustrations remain the best visual information about St. Paul's appearance before the cathedral was gutted by the Great Fire of London in September, 1666. However, they do not precisely record the cathedral's appearance in 1658.[156] Here, he ignores most, but not all, of Inigo Jones's 1630s remodeling of the cathedral. He consulted a 1562 drawing for the spire,[157] and made another print from a slightly different angle, showing the same side of the building without its spire.

The print's sponsor was Thomas Barlow (1607–1691), head librarian of the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, and, as provost of Queen's College, Oxford from 1648, part of a Royalist network.[158] He paid Hollar five pounds to etch the plate, writing to Dugdale: 'I shall not question the price soe it be well done. I know Mr Hollar is an excellent person, and deserves all incouragement...onely be you [Dugdale] the Judge, and what you say I will send.'[159] Barlow's name appears at upper right, with a Latin inscription expressing hope that the ruins of the cathedral should not also perish. He supplied the other Latin quotations, too. The longer is a (misspelled) comment by the Roman poet Horace on the need to restore Roman temples:[160]

> 'Though guiltless, you will continue to pay for the sins
> of your forefathers, Roman, until you repair the crumbling
> temples and shrines of the gods, and the statues begrimed
> with black smoke.'[161]

The shorter inscription comes from the Roman poet Lucan's *Pharsalia*: 'We have presented to an ungrateful race the image of the temple, such a one as a more corrupt age would hardly build'. The *Pharsalia* was much read in 1650s England, as it concerns civil war between Julius Caesar and his Senate.[162]

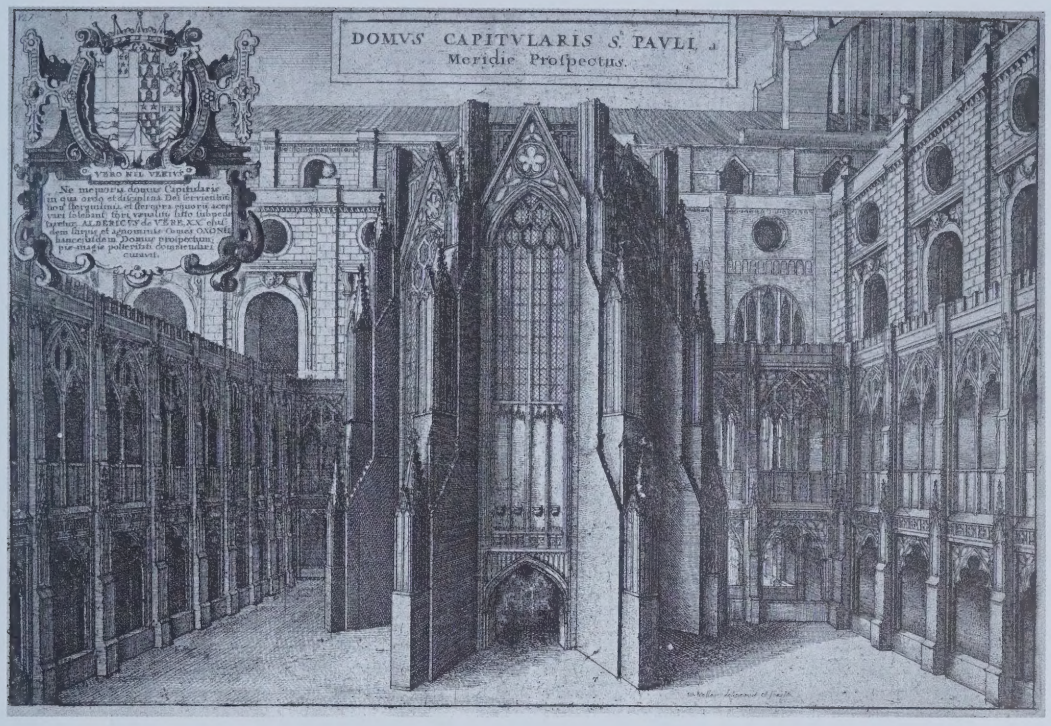
49 John Harris (after Hollar). *St Paul's. West Front*, 1716
Inscribed at lower right: 'Iohn Harris sculp'
Pennington 1020
22×26 cm.

The Great Fire of London in September 1666 destroyed the stock of innumerable

London stationers, publishers and printsellers. Hollar's copperplate of the *West Front of St. Paul's*, etched for Dugdale's *St. Pauls*, was among the losses. In 1716, a new edition of the book was produced. Where prints could not be supplied from Hollar's lost copperplates, engraved copies of his original illustrations were commissioned from John Harris. The Harris engravings can be distinguished from Hollar's etchings by their smaller size and harsher contrasts of light and shade.

This one copies Hollar's print of the new Italianate portico designed for St. Paul's by Inigo Jones (1573–1652), surveyor of the cathedral renovations. The portico was intended as a place where people could mingle. They previously used the cathedral nave, disturbing religious services in the choir. Jones's attempt to revive ancient Roman architecture and building techniques resulted in a remarkably strong structure.[163] Statues of Charles I and James I above the colonnade asserted royal authority, as did the Latin inscription on the frieze: 'Charles I, by God's grace King of Great Britain, France and Ireland restored St. Paul's, consumed by age, and built the portico'. In 1650, the anti-Royalist Council of State ordered the statues destroyed,[164] but the inscription survived even the Fire of London.[165]

Dugdale lamented in his 1656 *History of St. Pauls* that the portico colonnade had been converted (and damaged) to support wooden shops, but Hollar ignored this, giving us an idealized image of the portico as it should have been.[166] His print was donated by London alderman John Robinson, nephew of Archbishop William Laud, who had strongly supported the restoration of St. Paul's but was executed in 1645. Robinson, a rich merchant and financier, was involved in a Royalist plot in 1659. He became Lord Mayor of London in 1660, and in the 1670s, deputy governor of 'The Governor and Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay': the Hudson's Bay Company.[167]



50 *St. Paul's. Chapter House*, 1658
Inscribed at lower right: 'W. Hollar delineavit et sculpsit'
Pennington P1023, state ii
20×29 cm.

The cathedral's octagonal Chapter House, an early example of English Perpendicular architecture, was built in the 1300s by royal mason William Ramsay. St. Paul's dean and canons met on the upper floor, above the open undercroft. The building was never completed, but was meant to have pinnacles.[168] The nave windows to left and right of the Chapter House are differently designed. Inigo Jones redesigned St. Paul's medieval windows, and reclad its exterior in Portland stone, but work stopped before reaching the crossing. The south transept roof collapsed in 1653, so daylight should have been visible through Jones's arched windows at upper right. The north half of the cloister garth was demolished in November 1657, but is here intact.[169]

The plate was sponsored by the prominent Royalist Aubrey de Vere, 20th Earl of Oxford (1627–1703).[170] His arms appear at upper left, with a Latin inscription

identifying the Chapter House as a place where the order and discipline of God should be served. Instead, it was used to store building materials. By 1657 it had lost its roof, floor, and windows, and was surrounded by building stones and rubbish.[171] Hollar erases the terrible damage he saw, but his convincing rendering of light and shade makes his print appear a careful record of reality: a beautiful image to help Dugdale save the cathedral.

This second-state impression was reprinted from Hollar's original copperplate for the 1716 second edition of Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*.

51 *St Paul's. The Nave*, 1658

Inscribed at bottom: 'Wenceslaus Hollar Bohemus, hujus Ecclesiæ (quotidie casum expectantis) delineator et olim admirator, memoriam sic preseruauit, A° 1658.'

Pennington 1025

41×39 cm.

52 *St. Paul's. The Nave*, 1658
Pennington 1025A
30×22 cm.

Hollar's larger view of the nave of St. Paul's Cathedral (no. 51) extends from the west end to the rose window in the cathedral's east wall: almost six hundred feet. The Latin inscription under the image (in larger print) translates as:

> 'May the Mother Church be revived and sacrilege perish
> so that the ship [i.e. nave] of the Church about to sink
> in the waves of time, may be preserved through the saving
> auspices of God. Let our posterity marvel, imitating the
> piety of their ancestors, that this ancient and stupendous
> basilica, now on the verge of collapse, might be
> anchored to eternity as a sacred monument of the
> Christian religion.'[172]

Hollar's own smaller Latin inscription reads:

> 'Wenceslaus Hollar of Bohemia, sketcher and former admirer of this
> church (whose fall we daily await), has thus preserved its memory.
> In the year 1658.'[173]

St. Paul's stonework had corroded dangerously in the polluted air and acid rain of seventeenth-century London.[174] The condition of the cathedral, considered by radical Protestants a bastion of Laudian Anglicanism and a monument to monarchy, was of little concern to the Long Parliament (elected 1640). Repair work stopped on the cathedral in 1642, leaving the cathedral tower and south transept supported by wooden scaffolding, which was removed after Parliament granted the wood as payment to Parliamentarian troops.[175] The vaulting of the south transept duly collapsed on 27 January, 1654. Elsewhere, the roof was unsafe wherever its lead covering had been stolen, exposing the wooden roof beams to rot.[176] In 1658 Dugdale recorded the whole south transept roof 'already tumbled down, and the rest in severall places of the Church, often falling'.[177] There are no Hollar etchings of the transepts, probably because they were far too dangerous to enter.

Even his two etchings of the nave are inaccurate, for both show a smooth floor. In 1648 Parliamentarian troops stabled their horses in the nave. From 1653, the floor was dug up for sawpits, and the paving-stones sold.[178]

Above all, the absence of people from Hollar's nave prints would have shocked anyone old enough to remember St. Paul's before 1642, when the nave was known as 'Paul's Walk' and so crowded with people that it was popular with pickpockets. (Religious services were held in the choir.)[179]

Scholars have wondered why the unfinished smaller version of this print (no. 51) was rejected for use in Dugdale's book. Possibly it was because Hollar made a mistake in it. The shading is incomplete but what exists (e.g. on the pillar bases) indicates that the strongest light falls from the north: an impossibility. For the larger nave print (no. 50), Hollar corrected the lighting, simplified the floor, and intensified the shadows. Unsophisticated in perspective drawing, he used simple one-point perspective for both nave views, resulting in an exaggerated tunnel-like vista.[180] Illusionistic interiors, particularly those reproducing receding space, were known as 'perspectives': a much-admired type of image in seventeenth-century England and the Netherlands, that was beyond the capabilities of most English-trained printmakers even in the 1650s. Hollar's prints of St. Paul's nave have long been considered among his finest.

An additional reason to reject the smaller print (no. 52) was its sponsor: Philip Howard (1629–1694), grandson of Hollar's old patron the Earl of Arundel.[181] The dedicatory Latin inscription at upper right in that print, framed by palm fronds, explains that Philip had presented the print 'so that the piety of a parent [his Anglican father, Henry Howard] might not perish'. Philip had joined a Catholic religious order and was ordained a Catholic priest in 1652. In 1657, he founded an English Dominican monastery (Bornhem, near Antwerp), and was its first prior. For the next 150 years, Bornhem priests promoted the 'English Mission' – the re-conversion of England to Catholicism. Including a print sponsored by a well-known Catholic convert hoping to Catholicize England, a fact doubtless known to Cromwell's Protectorate government, would have undermined Dugdale's appeal for St. Paul's.[182]

The larger plate of the same view (no. 51) was donated by Dr. Samuel Collins (1618–1710), an anatomist and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and future physician-in-ordinary to Charles II.[183] It better conveys St. Paul's impressive

twelfth-century nave,[184] but was too large for the book's dimensions, and had to be bound in as a fold-out illustration. The resulting wear and tear is visible on the print on display.

53 *St. Paul's. Choir Screen*, 1658
Inscribed in lower left corner: 'W. Hollar delieauit et sculp:'
Pennington 1024, state iii
24×32 cm.

Hollar drew St. Paul's choir screen from the nave. The steps and doorway led into the choir, where religious services were held; smaller doors on left and right gave access to the choir's side aisles. Above the screen, the choir vault and the top of the eastern rose window are visible. The south transept is at right; the north transept at left. Older, round-headed windows and sunken doorways in the walls reflect the antiquity of the cathedral.

The medieval-looking choir screen was newly repaired (by October 1633), at the expense of the rich London merchant Sir Paul Pindar (1656–1650).[185] Its 'curious Statues of Kings and Bishops, the First Founders and Benefactors of the whole Fabricke' affirmed the cathedral's historic connection with the British monarchy.[186]

The (misspelt) Greek quotation is from Homer's *Iliad*, and the Latin one from Virgil's *Aeneid*. Both come from opening chapters of these books (standard educational texts for the sons of prosperous and aristocratic Englishmen). They would have constituted coded messages to gentlemen, who could have afforded Dugdale's book, but probably remained mysterious to Englishmen from lower socio-economic classes (including many Parliamentarians).[187] In the Greek text, Chryses, priest of Apollo successfully prays to the god to avenge his daughter's abduction and his own mistreatment by the Greeks: 'If ever I have put a roof on a temple pleasing to you...let the Danaans pay for my tears with your arrows.' The Latin combines an allusion to Virgil's description of the fall of Troy (*Aeneid*, book 3) with Virgil's own line: 'God will put an end to our worst woes' (*Aeneid*, Book 1, line 199).

The Royalist donor of the plates had lost much to Parliamentarians. He was Henry Compton (1632–1713), a relative of Arundel's.[188] Compton's father, the

second Earl of Northampton, died a Royalist hero in battle in 1643. His family home, Compton Wynyates, was captured by Parliamentary troops, who vandalized the family chapel and tombs. Compton had connections with other donors of illustrations for Dugdale's book as he was an undergraduate at Queen's College, Oxford in 1649–1653, when Thomas Barlow (donor of no. 48) was a Fellow there. At the Restoration, Compton joined a regiment commanded by Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford (donor of no. 50). He later became an Anglican priest, and from 1675, Bishop of London. Appealing in 1678 for donations to rebuild St. Paul's, he reminded the public of the cathedral's historic royal connections.[189] His arms (at upper left) are accompanied by the Latin wish that 'This may be a sacred monument of eternity'. It is surprising that Compton could afford such an expensive commission, as a younger son who spent time in Royalist exile. His older brother Sir William Compton (1625–63) may have paid for this print. Sir William organized Royalist propaganda as a member of the Seal'd Knot, a secret Royalist committee.

The date (1656) indicates Hollar was already preparing plates for Dugdale's book two years before its publication. The version on display is an impression of the third state of the print (reprinted from Hollar's original plate) for the 1716 edition of Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*.

54 *St. Paul's. The Choir*, 1658
Inscribed (at lower left): 'Wenceslaus Hollar delineauit et sculpsit'
Pennington 1026, state ii
32×23 cm.

The donor of this print was Dugdale's son-in-law Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), alchemist, astrologer, collector, and historian, who had already sponsored a Hollar plate for Dugdale's *Monasticon* (no. 47), and was to commission Hollar to illustrate his own history of the Order of the Garter, published 1672.[190]

In this elevated view of the choir, we look from the choir screen to the high altar. The rose window is visible beyond the altar. In reality, from 1649 the east end of the cathedral and part of the choir had been walled off by a brick partition, as a 'Preaching Place' where Dr. Cornelius Berger, a hellfire preacher appointed by Parliament, delivered 'public lectures' for a hefty salary.[191] In the 1630s the

choir was renovated by Sir Paul Pindar (see no. 52). Its fine woodwork, described in Dugdale's history, disappeared in 1645–47.[192] The high altar and altar-rail were removed in 1641 after radical Protestants threatened to do it themselves.[193] As organ music in religious services was even more unacceptable to them than altars, the choir organ was 'broken all to peeces' in 1643 or 1644, when a Parliamentary committee ordered it demolished.[194]

Hollar has recreated the choir woodwork (minus the cherubim), the altar, and the organ – which is shown with shutters open, ready for action. The arched panels above the altar would have contained the Ten Commandments. His choir, and Dugdale's, is a functioning Anglican place of worship, complete with the altar rails mandated by Archbishop Laud and loathed by radicals. The Latin inscription in Ashmole's dedication declares:

> 'In order that the faith of the Ages should not grieve for God's holy sanctuary and the august shrine of the Pauline temple, about to collapse from the long-lasting injury of time and the sacrilegious indifference of a worse age, Elias Ashmole, bearer of arms, wished this huge Choir, holy with awesome religion, to be a survivor in an image.'[195]

This impression was made for the 1716 edition of Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral.*

55 *Sir Christopher Hatton (Monument),* 1658
Pennington 2361A
30×17 cm.

Hollar's views of St. Paul's constitute most of the architectural content in Dugdale's *History of St. Pauls.* The monuments in the cathedral dominate Dugdale's text, as they dominated his interest as a herald. His transcription of their epitaphs, and the illustrations of the monuments, precede the architectural views in the volume.

The History of St. Pauls exists because of the monuments. The prominent Royalist, Sir Christopher Hatton, instigated the book because he feared for England's Anglican cathedrals – especially for the monuments they contained, which were historical evidence of the country's social elite. Among them was this

monument in St. Paul's to his own ancestor Sir Christopher Hatton (1540–1591), Lord Chancellor under Queen Elizabeth I. Hatton urged Dugdale to record monuments in England's most important religious buildings, providing him with a budget and an assistant.[196] Thanks to Hatton's foresight, we have a detailed visual record of thirty-three of the monuments in *The History of St. Pauls*, which Dugdale dedicated to him. In the 1716 edition, Dugdale explained that the monuments appear in the illustrations as they were in September 1651.[197]

Hatton donated this print himself; it bears his arms at upper left. The dedicatory inscription at upper right honours his famous relative, whose spectacular monument was a tourist attraction at the cathedral. It must have been targeted by treasure-hunters in the 1650s,[198] when the monuments of famous people buried in St. Paul's were 'thus torn in pieces, yea, their very bones and dust pulled out of their graves, in hope to discover some Treasure or Jewels buried with them.'[199] The Great Fire of London in 1666 destroyed whatever remained. The loss of St. Paul's monuments, second in importance only to Westminster Abbey's, was 'the greatest loss ever suffered by English sepulchral art'.[200]

Hollar etched only the lettering, wreaths and coat of arms in this print, which appeared in both the first and second editions of Dugdale's history of the cathedral. Most of the print is by an unknown printmaker.

56 *John Donne (Memorial)*, 1658
Pennington 2277
30×17 cm.

The only effigy in St. Paul's that survived the Great Fire of London in 1666 was that of John Donne (1572–1631), poet and Dean of St. Paul's. Hollar's engraving records it as it originally appeared, with Donne's own epitaph. The connection between the print's donor Margaret Clapham (1607–1673) and Donne is unknown. Mrs. Clapham was a Yorkshire lady who paid a reduced price for the print. Her Latin dedication laments that so many sacred places - even tombs, even in the temple of God - have been profaned, and says she wishes to perpetuate the memory of the 'honey-tongued' and eminent Doctor John Donne.[201]

The dying Donne delivered his last sermon on 25 January 1631, then had himself painted wearing a shroud and standing on a wooden urn. The resulting

portrait sat beside his bed until he died, then served as the design for his innovative monument by sculptor Nicholas Stone (ca.1587–1647).[202]

Donne was fascinated by the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body.[203] The monument represents him in mid-resurrection; his dust, formerly in the small urn, recreated as a living human body. The sculptor gave him a healthier appearance than his emaciated portrait, in keeping with Donne's belief that he would regain perfect health at the Resurrection.[204] In its original position, the monument faced St. Paul's east end, whence Donne believed Christ would come. The final words of his Latin epitaph translate as: 'Here, though in western dust, he looks toward Him [i.e., Christ] whose name is East'.[205]

57 *William Aubrey (Monument)*, 1658
Inscribed (at bottom centre): 'W. Hollar delin: et sculp:'
Pennington 2242, state i
30×17 cm.

The antiquarian John Aubrey (1626–1697) donated this illustration for Dugdale's *History of St. Pauls*. It depicts the monument of Aubrey's most celebrated ancestor, his great-grandfather William Aubrey (1529–1595), a distinguished Welsh judge, Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, and Master of the Rolls to Queen Elizabeth I, who called him her 'little Doctor'. John described him as '...somewhat inclining to fatness of face in his youth; round, well favoured, well coloured and handsome'. He considered the effigy too big to be a good likeness.[206] The winged hourglass and skull on top of the monument, like the skull held by William, reminded viewers of their mortality.

John's arms appear at upper left. His Latin inscription at upper right, in a fashionable 'auricular' frame, declares he placed this 'to the pious memory of an ancestor'. Though beset by inherited debts in 1658, Aubrey found money to honour his great-grandfather.

58 *Plan of the crypt of St. Paul's (St. Faith's)*, 1658
Inscribed (at lower centre): 'W. Hollar delin: et sculp: 1657'
Pennington 1029
21×30 cm.

Hollar's plans of St. Paul's interior are still used by modern scholars. The crypt contained the parish church of St. Faith's. The key below identifies the people buried in the graves indicated on the plan. Many were stationers, as St. Paul's Churchyard was at the heart of London's printing, publishing and bookselling trades by 1666 (see no. 59).

William Backhouse (1593–1662), alchemist, antiquary, astrologer, and Rosicrucian philosopher, donated the plate. He was a friend of Elias Ashmole, another plate donor (see no. 54). The donor of no. 59, William Bishop may have been Backhouse's son-in-law.[207] According to his biographer John Aubrey, Backhouse liked to tour old English buildings in the summertime.

Backhouse's coat of arms appears at upper left, in another 'auricular' frame. The Latin dedication in the cartouche below says that Backhouse gave the print 'so that the vestiges of a collapsing church should not disappear', and 'Nobody can bury a different Foundation', i.e. the Anglican Church. The reference was well-suited to Hollar's print of a crypt filled with graves.

59 *Interior of the Crypt of St. Paul's (St. Faith's)*, 1658
Inscribed below: 'W. Hollar delin: et sculp:'
Pennington 1030
19×33 cm.

The donor William Bishop may have been the William Bishop (d. 1661) of South Warnborough, Hampshire, who married William Backhouse's daughter Flower (see no. 58). Bishop's arms appear at upper left; his name and dedicatory Latin inscriptions at upper right. Anglican services had ended in St. Faith's, but the inscription in italics refers to the survival of Anglican Christianity.

Areas of the crypt were rented out as storage space for publishers and stationers working nearby. As the Great Fire of London approached in 1666, they moved their stock into St. Faith's, trusting the thick stone walls of St. Paul's would resist the Fire. London's mercers also stored their best cloth in the crypt. The Fire worked its way up scaffolding on the cathedral's exterior and burnt the roof timbers, until the roof collapsed through the choir floor into St. Faith's.[208] There, the goods stored for safekeeping fuelled the fire. St. Paul's was gutted; the books in the crypt were still burning a week later.[209] Several of Hollar's plates for Dugdale's *History of St. Pauls* were lost in the Fire.[210]

60 *St. Paul's Burning (Lex ignea)*, 1666
Pennington 1028, state iv
7×10 cm.

Hollar's tiny image of St. Paul's during the Great Fire of London is dominated by huge rolling clouds of smoke. It shows the cathedral as described by John Evelyn (1620–1706) on 2 September 1666.[211] The Chapter House and tower of St. Paul's are already on fire, as is the roof over the choir, which has not yet collapsed. The west end is still unconsumed, and Inigo Jones' portico intact. Eventually, the east end and tower were burnt out, consumed in a firestorm described by Samuel Pepys as an arch of fire a mile long.[212] The portico was destroyed, but the nave walls survived the fire. The architect Christopher Wren (1632–1723) recommended roofing the nave for religious services, as the choir was unsafe.[213]

The Latin title ('Even the ruins perished') comes from Lucan's *Pharsalia*,[214] already quoted on Hollar's view of the south side of St. Paul's (no. 48).

Hollar's worn printing plate was reworked before this impression was printed. His signature and the original date ('W. Hollar fecit. Aº 1666'), formerly in the lower left corner of the print, were removed, and the shading of the clouds intensified, for post-1666 editions of Sancroft's *Lex ignea*, and for post-1671 editions of Richard Allestree's *The Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety* (London, 1667).

The Great Fire was widely assumed to be God's judgement upon a sinful people. *Lex ignea* ('The Fiery Law') was a sermon preached by William Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's (1617–1693) before Charles II and his court on 10 October, 1666 – a national day of fasting and repentance. Once published, the sermon went into many editions. Sancroft became Archbishop of Canterbury.

61 *London Before and After the Fire [left side, with St. Paul's Cathedral]*
Inscribed (on upper view, of pre-Fire London, to right of print title): 'designed by W: Hollar of Prage, Bohem:'; and (on lower view of London burned, below key in lower right corner), 'Wenceslaus Hollar delin: et sculp: 1666 Cum privilegio'
Pennington 1015A, state ii
23×42 cm.

62 *London Before and After the Fire [right side, with London Bridge]*
Inscribed (on lower view, of London burned, in bottom left corner): 'Sould by Iohn Overton, at the White Horse, in little Brittaine, next doore to little S. Bartholomewes gate,'
Pennington 1015B, state ii
23×34 cm.

These two prints, made on two separate plates, were intended to be put together, one above the other, to create two long views of the City of London. The upper view shows the city as it appeared before the Great Fire broke out on Sunday, 2 September 1666. The lower view depicts the same cityscape as it appeared three days later.

St. Paul's Cathedral appears in the left-side print. The post-Fire view (below) shows it almost roofless; only the roof over the east end survived. The desolation of ruins around the cathedral is punctuated by the towers of burned-out churches. John Evelyn recorded it was impossible to know where one walked, 'but by the ruines of some church, or hall...some remarkable towre or pinacle remaining...'[215]

The printed key below the lower print identifies important buildings, beginning with the Temple Church (no. 1) at far left. The Fire moved west, stopping just short of Arundel House. To the right is the Tower of London, where Charles II led successful efforts to stop the Fire's eastward progression, which would have ignited the gunpowder magazines in the Tower, flattening everything for miles around, as Evelyn noted.[216]

Few of Hollar's contemporaries could have produced such detailed views of London quickly enough to take advantage of the market for current events. As second-state impressions, they carry the address of their publisher John Overton. He saved his printing plates when his shop burned in the Fire, so carried on business.

As Hollar dashed off these etchings, he would have known that the Fire had destroyed a major project of his own. In 1660, Hollar had issued *Propositions concerning the Map of London and Westminster, &c.* – a prospectus inviting subscribers to contribute to the cost of his planned great map of the City of London (with Westminster). The Fire rendered all his work obsolete. Only a single impression of his 1658 aerial view of West Central London survives.[217] Though Charles II ordered Hollar to continue, the map was never completed.[218]

63 *London. The Long View of 1647* [London: Robert Martin, 1832].
reproduction of Pennington 1014, state i
Originally on six plates, each print averaging 46×39 cm.

Hollar's 'Long View' of 1647 has inspired copies and reproductions since the 1660s. The Fisher lacks an example of this print, but its 1832 lithograph by Robert Martin is a remarkably faithful copy.[219] The most complete image of pre-Fire London, Hollar's panorama recorded the city as it appeared in the 1640s. The original panorama consisted of six prints, averaging 36×39 cm. Each printed on a separate plate, they formed a unified image when joined, as in this reproduction.

Largescale views were made of London from ca. 1550, as the city's importance grew clearer. Most, including this, depict London as if seen from Southwark on the Thames's south bank.[220] Hollar probably consulted C.J. Visscher's 1616 panorama, but is unlikely to have seen John Norden's of 1600.[221] Panoramic views of cities imply movement, inviting us to 'stroll' about the landscape. The only limit on our 'movement' is the artist's choice of viewpoint: Hollar's is located in mid-air a few feet above the tower of the church of St Mary Overy's (not itself visible).

Pre-Fire London as seen here was close-packed with timber-built Tudor housing. Fire was a constant threat. The Thames, still London's chief transport artery and link to world trade, is crowded with barges and watermen's taxis. On the north bank, a long road paralleling the river connects the commercial City of London (at right) with the royal capital, Westminster (at left).

Hollar etched the plates in Antwerp in the mid-1640s, from drawings he made after arriving in London in late December 1636, and before leaving London in 1644.[222] Some of his surviving sketches show parts of London included in the panorama.[223] The print, published in Amsterdam by the Dutch map publisher Cornelis Danckerts (1603–1656), is dedicated to Mary, Princess Royal (1631–1660), eldest daughter of Charles I. In 1641 she had married William II, Prince of Orange, who became Stadtholder of the United Provinces on 14 March, 1647.[224] As the dedicatory inscription on the most westerly (left) print of the panorama makes no mention of this status, this part of the print, at least, probably predates March 1647.

Hollar must have worked for months on the panorama, a luxury product for rich collectors. In Holland, patricians collected topographical prints, maps and

ocean charts.[225] A London panorama would have interested Dutch collectors as a view of Amsterdam's economic rival, and as the home of Holland's new princess, who had not yet impaired her popularity.

The 'Long View' was updated and reissued in the 1660s.

Section 1 (and 6):

The most westerly part of the panorama (its left end) was bisected vertically, its left side (with the crowned female figure and dedication to Princess Mary) forming the left end of the panorama. The right side (with the male river god) formed the right end. The result, once the prints were all assembled, was a vista of London framed by allegorical figures. The Latin verses address the crowned 'Nymph of the British', with sword and scales of Justice. The Nymph is flanked by royal regalia (at left) and a still life symbolizing prosperity (at right), with panels of agricultural and military trophies below her. The view of 'Parlament House' and 'Westminster Abby' below continues the panorama above the Latin dedication.[226]

Danckerts, the panorama's publisher, wrote the verses addressing Princess Mary as daughter of the 'undefeated' Charles I. In fact, after a string of Royalist defeats, Charles was imprisoned by Parliament for most of 1647.[227]

Above the male river god (the Thames), a boy with a feather headdress presents ostrich feathers to a child in a lion skin, while another boy climbs on an ostrich. Below these exotic figures, appropriately enough, seagoing vessels are depicted downriver from London Bridge. The Latin poem by Edward Benlowes (1603?-1676) praising London is flanked by trophies representing trade and commerce.

Section 2:

Working from west to east (i.e. from left to right on the panorama), the second print has cloud-borne cherubs with Mercury's caduceus (symbol of peace and harmony), above a delightful view of Southwark gardens. The 'Globe Theatre', and flying the English flag, was actually the 'Hope', used for bear-baiting. The round building to its left, labeled 'Beere baytinge' (bear-baiting) in Hollar's original, is the real Globe, demolished in 1644 before the panorama was published. On the north bank, the aristocrats' fine riverside houses include Hollar's old haunt, Arundel House. Inigo Jones' Banqueting House rises above the smaller, older

buildings of Whitehall Palace.

In the second state of this print (published 1661), an enormously tall maypole appears near Arundel House, erected by Charles II in 1661, on the first May Day after his Restoration. Maypoles had been banned as 'heathenish' under Cromwell's Protectorate.

Section 3:

Mercury flies over 'S. Pauwls Church' - renamed 'St. Pauwls Cathedrall' in the panorama's 1661 version. St. Paul's has its old tower in the 1647 panorama, but a dome in 1661 - years before Christopher Wren proposed one in May 1666.[228] The Monument to the Great Fire of London also appears, which was not completed until 1677. The panorama's new publisher, Justus Danckerts, did not change the 1661 date on post-1666 impressions.

Section 4:

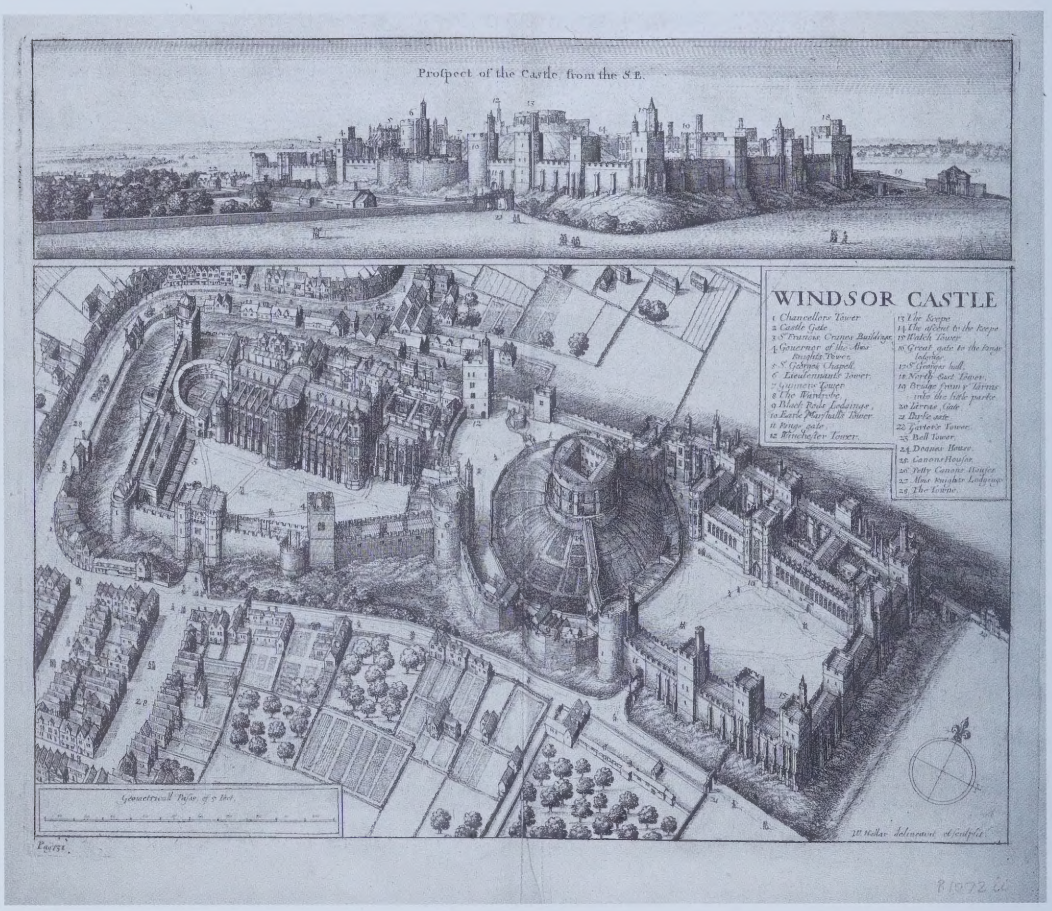
Fame blows her trumpet over London Bridge ('THE BRIDGE'). The far end of the bridge, near the north bank, is bare of houses as they were destroyed by fire in 1633.

Section 5:

Cherubim above the Tower of London carry a chain and crown - references to the Tower's role as royal stronghold and prison. The boy accompanying the cherubim carries a jewel-box and parrot. The Crown Jewels were (and are) safeguarded in the Jewel House at the Tower. Under James I and Charles I, the royal menagerie was also there. On the crowded river, men scrape and caulk a ship from a raft.

Section 6:

The final section of the panorama (the right-hand section of the first print, discussed above) follows the Thames as it winds towards the Channel. Ocean-going vessels anchored below London Bridge, as their masts were too tall to pass under it.



64 *Windsor Castle*, 1672

Inscribed (in lower right corner of larger view of castle): 'W. Hollar delineavit et sculpsit'

Pennington 1072, state ii

30×37 cm

On 24 May 1659, Hollar accompanied Elias Ashmole to Windsor, to draw the Castle for Ashmole's folio volume, *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter... Collected and Digested into One Body by Elias Ashmole* (London, 1672). Hollar supplied thirty-three illustrations, including this elevated view of Windsor Castle. At the top of the print, a smaller view ('Prospect of the Castle') shows the Castle from the Windsor Park, with Eton Chapel in the distance.

Hollar handles a highly complex architectural subject in daring perspective,

with supreme confidence. By now, he was a fluid draughtsman: the tiny coach and horses passing the castle (at left), if examined through a magnifying glass, dissolve into a scribble of expert strokes.[229] Hollar even recorded the vegetable gardens laid out on the motte of the medieval Keep (the artificial hill supporting the round tower, right of centre). However, the trees in the fields above and below the Castle are schematically rendered in incorrect perspective, as if seen by someone standing on the ground.

Christopher Wren, future architect of St. Paul's Cathedral, may have helped with the perspective. The son of Windsor's Dean, Wren studied mathematics at Oxford and in 1656 was nearly appointed Professor of Geometry at Gresham College, London.[230] Wren drew the side view of Windsor etched by Hollar for Ashmole's book.[231] However, Hollar's previous elevated views of London and other cities suggest that Hollar drew this elevated view of Windsor himself, as the print's inscription says.

A key at right identifies Castle buildings. The large church at upper left is St. George's Chapel, Mother Church of the Order of the Garter. Parliamentary troops had ripped the lead from its roof in 1643, but Hollar shows it intact.

65 *Garter Procession in the Time of Charles II*, 1672

Inscribed (in lower right corner, in design): 'W. Hollar delineauit et sculpsit'

Pennington 582

31×39 cm.

Charles II returned to England in 1660. He reinstated the annual St. George's Day procession of the Knights of the Order of the Garter at St. George's Chapel, Windsor as recorded in this illustration by Hollar, for Ashmole's *Order of the Garter* (London, 1672). The date at upper left is 'Anno 27 Caroli'. Charles II counted the years of his reign from his father's execution on 30 January, 1649, believing that monarchical rule in Britain had never been interrupted. In 1660 Parliament legislated that Charles II had been lawful monarch since January 30, 1649, as part of the Restoration negotiations.

In exile, Charles II had seen the gorgeous robes of Louis XIV's *Ordre du Saint-Esprit*, so had the Garter robes redesigned. Hollar captures their sweep – which enthralled spectators at Charles II's coronation.[232] The procession begins

at the top centre of the print. Ashmole, appointed Windsor Herald by Charles II in 1660, must be the herald walking just left of centre, at the middle of the print. He wears his herald's tabard, and his face is turned towards us. The procession ends at the lower right corner, where Hollar signed the print.

Hollar's print corresponds to John Evelyn's verbal description of the Garter procession of 23 April, 1667.[233] The 'Poor Knights' of the Order walk first, followed by the little choirboys of St. George's Chapel, the clergy in ecclesiastical robes, the Garter officers (heralds of the College of Arms), and the Knights of the Garter, easily identifiable by their dramatically sweeping robes and the ostrich plumes on their hats. At centre foreground, the Sovereign of the Order of the Garter, King Charles II, looks out at us from under his baldaquin. The other people in the procession have generalized faces, even Elias Ashmole. Only the King's is a recognizable, individualized portrait.

66 *Windsor. St. George's Chapel. Choir*, 1672
Inscribed (at lower right): 'W. Hollar Scenographus Regius delineauit et sculpsit'
Pennington 1078, state ii
30×32 cm

Hollar etched the interior of the choir of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle for Ashmole's *Order of the Garter* (London, 1672). We look east towards the altar. Above the choir stalls hang the Garter knights' heraldic banners, with their helms, crests, and swords (no. 8 in the key, below the image). The high altar (no. 1 in the key) is set with candlesticks and silver plate. The altar silver here, however, cannot be the original Garter set, commissioned by Charles I from the great Dutch silversmith Christian van Vianen (ca. 1600–1667). That set, completed in 1639, was swiftly carried off by a Captain Fogg when Parliamentarians seized Windsor Castle in 1642.[234] The altar silver in Hollar's 1672 print may also be by van Vianen, appointed goldsmith to Charles II . Ashmole himself had drafted the royal warrant for replacement Garter silver in the early 1660s.[235]

Above the altar is an image of Titian's *The Supper at Emmaus* (now Louvre, Paris).[236] The painting, formerly owned by Charles I, was sold in 1649 and never recovered by Charles II.[237] This High Church arrangement reaffirmed Archbishop Laud's most controversial orders.[238] Laud had been criticized at his trial

PROSPECT OF THE CHOIRE
from the West
1. The High Altar
2. Knights Companions Stalls
3. Cohors Stalls in absence of the Knights
4. Petty Canons and Vicars Stalls
5. Choristers Stalls
6. Minr Knights Chaires
7. Knights Companions Banners
8. Their Helmets Crests and Swords
9. Plates of their Armor and Styles
10. Queenes Closet
11. Closet for Ladies
12. East Window of the Choire
Pag. 146.

for having the communion table in his Lambeth Palace chapel 'Altarwise, with the ends of it North and South against the wall', and 'with Basons, Candlesticks and other furniture, and hanging a cloth of Arras behind it, with the Picture of Christ and his Apostles eating the Lords Supper together'.[239]

When Hollar's print was published in 1672, the Chapel of St. George had returned to Laudian Anglicanism, and was in full operation. In 1666, Pepys was shown around by the organist, tried out one of the chapel stalls, and was entertained with a performance of the Great Service.[240]

Ashmole began researching the Order of the Garter during the Interregnum in 1655, fearing it might never be revived. A medieval chivalric order, the Order had been reinvigorated by Charles I. The king posed as a Garter knight in portraits,[241] wore his own Garter medallion constantly (even to the scaffold),[242]

and was buried in the Tomb House just beyond this chapel.[243] The Order was consequently banned as a Royalist cult during the Interregnum.[244] At the Restoration, Ashmole's Garter project turned out to have been a shrewd career move. He was appointed Windsor Herald, joining his friend (and future father-in-law) Dugdale at the College of Arms.

Hollar initially signed the plate, 'W. Hollar delin: et sculp: 1663'. He erased that signature and substituted his new title, granted by Charles II in 1666.

67 *Coronation Procession of Charles II through London*, 1662

Pennington 570 (37×48 cm), inscribed below first row, at left, with Hollar's coat of arms and 'Wenceslaus Hollar Bohemus delineavit, et aqva forti æri insculpsit';

Pennington 571 (38×48 cm.)

Pennington 572 (37×49 cm.)

Pennington 573 (37×49 cm.)

After Cromwell's Protectorate lost army support under his son Richard, power struggles ensued among various Parliamentarian groups. Support grew for a return to monarchy, and eventually Charles II was invited back to Britain. He landed at Dover on 25 May 1660, entering London on 29 May.

His coronation, the most splendid England had ever seen, took place on 23 April 1661 (St. George's Day). The diarist Samuel Pepys donned the new velvet coat he had kept unworn, in expectation of this day. Watching the procession in comfort from an upper room overlooking the parade route, Pepys was thrilled by the splendour of the procession participants: 'Imbroidery and diamonds were ordinary among them'.[245]

For moneyed spectators like Pepys, the perfect souvenir of the day was one of John Ogilby's two illustrated accounts of the procession and coronation ceremony. Ogilby published *The Entertainment of his Most Excellent Majestie Charles II his Passage through the City of London to his Coronation* (London, 1662), as well as an expanded version of the book.[246] These prints come from the briefer book, which is an illustrated verbal description of Charles II's coronation procession. The text was written by Sir Edward Walker, Garter King of Arms. David Loggan (1635–1692) etched the triumphal arches erected along the procession route.

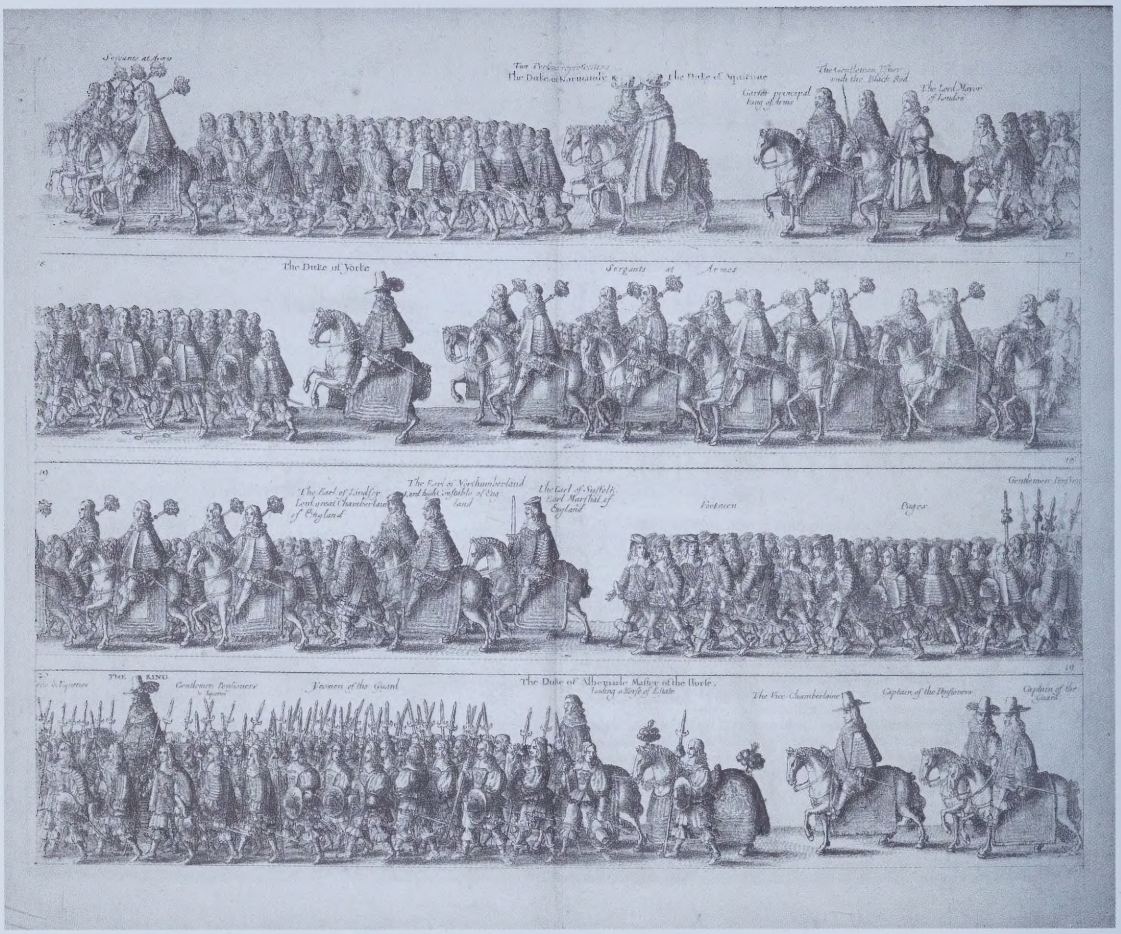
Hollar drew and etched the coronation ceremony at Westminster Abbey, and the procession itself, as four double-spread prints. Digital reproductions of these procession prints are exhibited here. Each print contained four numbered rows of procession participants, with each important group or individual identified by lettering. Readers could 'watch' the procession by simply turning the pages, or, by cutting the prints into horizontal strips and reassembling them by number, they could recreate the procession as a single long image.[247] Hollar signed the procession only once - on the first print (Pennington 570) under the first row, at left. On this set of prints about social status, he included his Bohemian coat of arms to declare his own gentlemanly status.

The procession formally re-established the entire English social elite. Disrupted by the Civil War and Interregnum, it now reassembled in correct order of precedence. The procession begins with three riderless horses led by attendants (row 1, on first doublespread), and ends with the King himself (in the last row of the last print, rows 17 to 20).

Most of the faces in the prints are generalized, but in the last print of the procession, (Pennington 573) there are three identifiable portraits. In row no. 17 (at top) at right, three horsemen ride together. The first is Sir Edward Walker, Garter King of Arms, wearing a herald's tabard. A Royalist, Walker served Charles I and endured exile with Charles II. He was rewarded by this appointment at the Restoration. Sir Edward planned the coronation procession, with Ashmole's aid. It was a demanding task, as spectators watched carefully to see who walked in front of whom: a clue to the new power hierarchy.[248]

Parliamentarians as well as Royalists participated in the procession. Alongside Sir Edward rides a former Parliamentarian major-general: Sir Richard Browne (ca. 1610–1669), Lord Mayor of London. In 1660, Browne had welcomed Charles II to the City of London (a tense moment in the Restoration) and was rewarded with a knighthood. He remained loyal.

In the second row (row 18) rides James, Duke of York (1633–1701), brother to Charles II. As heir to the throne, James rode alone in the procession, a detail noticed by John Evelyn - and doubtless by everyone else. In 1685, James succeeded his brother as King James II.[249] King Charles II rides among attendants in the fourth row (row 20) at lower left. Pepys thought he looked 'most nobly'.[250] The king is preceded by a man holding a sword with a blunt, cut-off tip:


The Duke of Yorke
Sergants at Armes
The Earl of Lindsey Lord great Chamberlain of England
The Earl of Northumberland and high Constable of England for this day
The Earl of Suffolk Earl Marshall of England
Footmen
Pages
Gentlemen Ushers
The KING
Gentlemen Pensioners
Yeomen of the Guard
The Duke of Albemarle Master of the Horse
The Vice Chamberlain
Captain of the Pensioners
Captain of the Guard

the 'curtana' or 'sword of mercy', part of Charles I's royal regalia. The man carrying the curtana is Aubrey de Vere, 20th Earl of Oxford (donor of no. 50). The Royalist Earl had just been made a Knight of the Garter on 15 April, 1661, and granted the right to carry the curtana. He bore it at all subsequent English coronations, the last being Queen Anne's in 1702.

The man riding a horse behind the King and leading a spare horse is the newly-appointed Master of the Horse to Charles II: General George Monck (1608–1670), the future Duke of Albemarle. He was arguably the most important man in the procession. His military and political acumen as a Parliamentarian general during the power crises of 1658–1660 had made it possible to restore the British monarchy without violence. Many spectators, remembering the Civil War, must have been profoundly grateful.

68 *Coronation of Charles II*, 1662
Pennington 575
37×48 cm.

Hollar's etching of the coronation of Charles II in Westminster Abbey looks east towards the high altar. The king sits in the middle of the Abbey, on a raised platform 'all covered with red...and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, in red vests'.[251] Naturalistic at first glance, the print compresses time in the tradition of medieval narrative images, as the king appears twice. First, as an inconspicuous figure sitting before the altar (beyond the platform) while the Bishop of London, deputizing for an ailing Archbishop of Canterbury, crowns him; then on the platform as crowned king. In the choir, hung with tapestries, is the temporary pulpit from which the Bishop of Worcester preached to Charles before the coronation ritual began.

On either side of the crowned Charles on his platform, members of the English nobility sit wearing the robes and coronets they donned at the moment of his crowning. They had entered the Abbey carrying them in their hands. The eight men standing in the foreground, with maces over their shoulders are serjeants-at-arms. The transepts on either side are filled by spectator stands filled with commoners, the left one including Pepys. He recorded his disappointment that from his seat near the top he could not see the actual crowning in the choir, and his excitement at witnessing what he believed a unique event.[252]

Hollar's etching offers us the sensation that we ourselves are present, sitting about halfway up one of the spectator stands. A straightforward record of a coronation would normally present the king frontally, or make the moment of crowning the central event. Depicting the newly-crowned King from behind rather than, as one might have expected, showing his face, only adds to the enjoyable illusion that we are there. Though its primary function was to commemorate Charles II's coronation, the print enabled its owners to imagine themselves as spectators of the ceremony.

69 *The Royal Society*, 1667

Inscribed (at lower left) 'Evelyn inv: D.D.C.'; and (at lower right) 'Wenceslaus Hollar f: 1667'

Pennington 459

20×17 cm.

This print, frontispiece to Thomas Sprat's *The History of the Royal Society of London* (London, 1667), was designed by the diarist John Evelyn, himself a member of the Royal Society. From the mid-1640s, scholars and amateurs interested in 'natural philosophy' (i.e. science) met to discuss the writings of Francis Bacon (1546–1626), advocate of the 'scientific method' of investigation. In November 1660 they listened to a lecture by Christopher Wren, future architect of St. Paul's Cathedral (then Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, London). Afterwards, a small group, among them Wren, the natural philosopher Robert Boyle (1627–1691), and the mathematician William, Viscount Brouncker (1620–1684), decided to found a new 'Colledge for the Promoting of Physico-Mathematicall Experimentall Learning' – the Royal Society.

Most of those elected to membership of the Royal Society in its early decades were gentlemen rather than professional scientists. Meetings were a mixture of serious and unsystematic investigations. In 1662 they appointed the brilliant Robert Hooke (1635–1703) as 'Curator of Experiments'. Accumulating a library (and, in traditional English fashion, a fine collection of curiosities),[253] the Society obtained a Royal Charter in 1662, enabling it to publish books. Among the first published was Hooke's *Micrographia* (London, 1665): an illustrated record of the author's observations through his new invention, the compound microscope.

In Hollar's print, Fame crowns a bust of King Charles II with a laurel wreath. The King has been 'classicized' by a haircut and toga-like drapery. On the bust's plinth, a Latin inscription identifies him as 'Charles II founder and patron of the Royal Society'.

The Society's coat of arms (above) bears the motto, '*Nullius in verba*' ('Nothing in words'), from the Roman poet Horace's 'Not compelled to swear to any master's words':[254] a tribute to the Baconian method of determining truth through direct observation and experimentation, rather than by reliance on older written authority. The long-dead Francis Bacon sits at right, holding the purse of

an English Lord Chancellor, one of his appointments under James I. He points to a gun hanging among the scientific and geometric instruments on the wall at right. The Society's experiments with guns are emphasized here to underline its military usefulness. At left, Viscount Brouncker points to the inscription on the plinth. To his left are shelves lined with books (some labeled). The Society's mace, its charter bearing the royal seal, and a volume of its statutes lie beside him.

Inventions and equipment used by the Society fill the background, where a man looks through a gigantic telescope representing contemporary advances in astronomy. Charles II founded the Royal Observatory at Greenwich in 1675, and appointed the first Astronomer Royal. The royal bust is alive, looking us straight in the eye. Sprat's history is prefaced by an 'Epistle Dedicatory' praising Charles II as the first King in Europe who 'confirmed this Noble Design of Experiments, by Your own Example, and by a Public Establishment'.[255] Charles, though no scientist, made interest in science fashionable, sending questions to the Society for answers, and ordering a treatise on coffee.

The Royal Society, the oldest scientific academy continuing without interruption, remains Britain's most prestigious scientific association. Its journal *Philosophical Transactions* has been published since 1665.

70 *Ogilby. Britannia* [title page], 1675
Inscribed (at lower left) 'Fran: Barlow inv:', and (at lower right) 'W. Hollar fecit 1675'
Pennington 2681, state ii
36×22 cm.

Only two years before his death, Hollar etched this title page for John Ogilby's *Britannia* (London, 1675), designed by Francis Barlow. In old age, he increasingly relied on other artists' designs. He had already worked for Ogilby and with Barlow. Ogilby reinvented himself after the Fire of London as a land surveyor and property appraiser. He obtained a royal appointment as 'His Majesty's Cosmographer and Geographic Printer', and launched a scheme to map England's roads. The Turnpike Act of 1663 allowed the collection of road tolls, encouraging a self-funding road improvement system. The result was extensive improvements in English roads beginning with the major routes leading out of London.[256] From

The Road from
LONDON TO BARWICK
Tottenham high Cross
Newington
Kingsland
to Stanes
London
MIDDLESEX
HERTFORDSHIRE
LONDON
BRITANNIA
VOL. I
or an
Illustration
of the Kingdom of
ENGLAND
and Dominion of WALES
By a
Geographical & Historical
Description
of the Principal
ROADS.
Fran. Barlow inuc.
W. Hollar fecit 1675.

1669 to 1674, Ogilby's surveyors carried out the first proper measurement of roads in England and Wales.

The result was Ogilby's *Britannia, Vol. I, or an Illustration of ye Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales By a Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Roads* (London, 1675) - Britain's first road atlas. It contained strip-form itineraries highlighted by drawings of landmarks along the routes. The ratio of one inch = one mile used in *Britannia* became a standard measurement, dominating cartography in many countries until the 1960s.

The airborne cherub at left holds one of the strips (as a banner). At right, in the middle distance, a horseman supervises men using an odometer-like device for measuring roads. At left, three men look down from a fortified building, with cannons protruding from gunports, and armoured statues, from which the Royal Standard of Great Britain is flying. The building represents the City of London - its coat of arms is over the portcullised gateway. Two out of the three banners held by the flying cherubs bear maps of London. The central one shows the City of London with Westminster and Southwark. The left banner (mentioned above), depicts Ogilby's strip-map route from London to Barwick, via Shoreditch and Newington. The third banner/map, at right, shows the highway network of north-east England, centring on York.

Only rich gentlemen could afford a copy of *Britannia*. Hence, gentlemen travelers dominate the scene. Two gentlemen riders, on a larger scale than all the other people in the print, are leaving Fortress London, the royal capital, for a journey. One holds an Ogilby strip-map, and the other points the way. A coach and rider precede them on the road. In the foreground, three gentlemen discuss an Ogilby strip-map while a fourth rests. Nearby, a man returns to 'London' with his dog, and game slung over his back. Most of the working people are mere props (like the shepherd watching the stag hunt passing his flock), and there is no sign of commercial or agricultural transport.

The title page also promotes Ogilby's next project. In the foreground, at lower right, gentlemen sit round a table strewn with cartographical instruments, discussing in the manner of Royal Society members.[257] The subject of their discussion seems to be the large globe on the table which is turned to show us 'Africa'. In May, 1669, Ogilby had issued a prospectus seeking subscribers for a planned world atlas, the first volume being 'Africa'.[258] Ogilby published that

volume, as well as one of 'America' and part of his planned 'Asia' volume, before dying in 1676.

As Hollar's career, and his life, drew to a close, the mental world of seventeenth-century Englishmen was rapidly expanding through scientific study and increased mobility. Even in old age, through his prints – only a fraction of which are shown in this exhibition – Hollar participated in the related explosion of European print culture, playing a significant part in the visual communication of his times.

NOTES

1 Richard Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar 1607–1677* (Cambridge, 1982), p. xxii.

2 Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking*, 2nd ed. (London, 1996), p. 128. The term 'peintre-graveur' was popularized by J.A. von Bartsch's *Le Peintre-Graveur*, 21 vols., (Vienna, 1803–1821).

3 Pennington, *op.cit.*, no. 603.

4 Hollar was alleged to have paid a hundred guineas for Rembrandt's etching, *Christ Healing the Sick* (c. 1637 - late 1640s), thus being responsible for its popular title, *The Hundred Guilder Print*. For the origins of this story, and an alternative explanation for the title (supported by a letter from Hollar's own print publisher, Jan Meyssens), see Pennington, *ibid.*, p. xxxiii, n. 1; Sophie Renouard de Bussierre, *Rembrandt eaux-fortes* (Paris, 2006), p. 201; and Erik Hinterding et al., *Rembrandt the Printmaker* (Chicago, 2000), p. 255.

5 Pennington 2024–2027 (*Beggars after Callot)*; and Pennington 2027A (*'Balli di Sfessania'after Callot*); Jacqueline Burgers, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Seventeenth-century Prints from the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen* (Alexandria, Virginia, 1994), p. 186, no. 121B.

6 See Antony Griffiths, 'The Pepys Library', *Print Quarterly*, XII, no. 4 (Dec. 1995), pp. 409–412, on the print collections of Pepys, Elias Ashmole, and Sir Philip Sydenham. Pepys displayed his favourite prints framed and varnished on walls, but collected most of his prints as visual information, rather than 'art'.

7 Antony Griffiths and Robert A. Gerard, *op.cit.*, pp. 13–14.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 13–34.

9 Pennington, *op.cit.*, no. 1417.

10 Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent London Printseller circa 1642–1665* (Vancouver, 1985), pp. 31–32.

11 Tarnya Cooper, 'Early modern collecting in Northern Europe: copied drawings and printed prototypes', in Stuart Currie, ed., *Drawing 1400–1600: Invention and Innovation* (Ashgate, 1998), pp. 206–218.

12 Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 158, no. 959.

13 *Ibid.* p. 27

14 *A Book of Flowers, Fruits, Beasts, Birds & Flies: Seventeenth-Century Patterns for Embroiderers Printed and Sold by Peter Stent*, introduced by Cora Ginsburg and Jonna Ghelerter (Austin, 1995), pp. 13–14.

15 Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* , ed. Robert Latham et al., vol. VII (1666) (Berkeley, 2000), p. 48 (19 February, 1666).

16 Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. xxv, citing Hollar's letter, written on the back of a trial proof of this print (Pennington 704), as translated by Francis C. Springell, *Connoisseur and Diplomat. The Earl of Arundel's Embassy to German in 1636* (London, 1963), p. 160, n. 110.

17 Hollar's etching is based on his portrait drawn by Johannes Meyssens (1612–70). The etching was included in Meyssen's *Images de divers hommes d'esprit sublime* (Antwerp, 1649) (and in its English version, published in 1694 and 1739). It also appeared in Cornelis de Bie's *Het Gulden Cabinet van de edele vrij Schilderkonst* (Antwerp, 1661).

18 Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 245, no. 1419, misled by alterations to St. Vitus's tower in the 1800s, incorrectly suggests Antwerp is shown.

19 See George Vertue, 'A description of the works of Wenceslaus Hollar...with some account of his life' (1745), in Vertue, *Notebooks*, published in *Walpole Society*, vol. 18 (Oxford, 1930), pp. 34–35.

20 John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (ed. Richard Barber) (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 166.

21 Back in London in 1656, Hollar was fined for Catholic recusancy, 'for being present at the hearinge of a masse at the lodgeings of the Venetian Ambassadour...at the time of the elevation of the host and other ceremonies...' (Middlesex County Records, 6 Jan., 1656). (See J.C. Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, 4 vols. ([London], 1887–1892), III, p. 241, cited in Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. xxxv.

22 The plate produced Hollar's etchings of *St. Catharine of Alexandria* (Pennington 177). See no. 7.

23 See Christopher Brown, *Dutch Landscape: The Early Years. Haarlem and Amsterdam 1590–1650* (National Gallery, London, 1986); and Peter C. Sutton, ed., *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1987).

24 Pennington (*op.cit.*, pp. xx–xxi) dates this to 1627.

25 David Howarth, 'The Arundel Collection', in Jonathan Brown et al., *The Sale of the Century: Artistic Relations between Spain and Great Britain, 1604–1655* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 69–86; David Jaffé et al., *The Earl and Countess of Arundel: Renaissance Collectors* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 1995).

26 *Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel with his grandson Thomas (later 5th Duke of Norfolk)* (collection of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk). See Pennington, *op.cit.*, pp. 230 (no. 1351) and 231 (no. 1353); David Howarth et al., *Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1985–1986), p. 16, no. 6.

27 The concept of ownership of an image by its author or publisher was not firmly established in seventeenth-century England. Hollar's Arundel on Horseback (1639) was reworked by other printmakers into a portrait of Parliamentarian General Thomas Fairfax, then of Oliver Cromwell himself. See Pennington, op.cit., p. 230 (no. 1352).

28 Arundel House appears in its entirety in Hollar's 1658 elevated view of West Central London (British Museum), reproduced in Peter Whitfield, *London: A Life in Maps* (London, 2006), pp. 50–51.

29 Pennington, *op.cit.* p. 102 (no. 1034).

30 See Cristiana Garofalo and Sylvie Béguin, *Raffaello Catalogo complete dei dipinti* (Santarcangelo di Romagna, 2002), p. 160, no. 73. According to S.J. Freedberg, *La Velata* was originally a 'St. Catharine', but as Garofalo reports, there is no trace of

wheel or palm frond in technological examinations of the painting. Reports of these are published in *Raffaello a Firenze. Dipinti e disegni delle collezione fiorentine* (Florence, 1984), pp. 217–218.

31 For Arundel's misidentification of Sebastiano del Piombo's *Ferry Carondolet and Francesco Giucciardini* (Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum) as a Raphael, see David Howarth, 'A Question of Attribution: Art Agents and the shaping of the Arundel Collection', in Hans Cools et al., eds., *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe* (Hilversum, 2006), pp. 17–28, at p. 19.

32 The other views were of Covent Garden, the Tower of London, and the church of St. Mary Overy in Southwark (Pennington. *op.cit.*, p. 149, nos. 908 - 910). The London print publisher Peter Stent offered all four prints as 'one book' in his 1662 catalogue.

33 Diana Scarisbrick, 'Sir Thomas Gresham and the "Grasshopper Rings",' in Ann Saunders, ed., *The Royal Exchange* (The London Topographical Society, Publication no. 152) (London, 1997), pp. 57–58.

34 Ann Saunders, 'The Organization of the Exchange', in *ibid.*, pp. 85–98, at pp. 88. In 1639, Exchange administrators recorded complaints that 'idle boyes, beggars, cheaters and other people of base quality' committed daily abuses in the courtyard.

35 Peacham was famous for his book of advice for young men, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622).

36 Charles I was executed in 1649, and his statue removed in 1650 by order of the Parliamentarian 'Council of State'. It was replaced by a sign reading 'Exit tyrranus, regum ultimus' ('the tyrant is gone, the last of kings'). A new version was installed at the Restoration, with a Latin inscription declaring the King had been martyred twice - in his body and in his statue. See Katharine Gibson, '"The Kingdom's Marble Chronicle": The Embellishment of the First and Second Buildings, 1600 to 1690', in Ann Saunders, ed., *op.cit.*, pp. 138–173, at pp. 140, 144.

37 No drawing or painting of Seleucus, though, is listed in Arundel's 1655 inventory. See Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 81 (no. 527), and David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven, 1985), pp. 116–117.

38 Another Seleucus painting, Jan de Braij's *The Judgment of King Saleucus* (1676) remains in its original site: over the mantelpiece of the magistrates' room of Haarlem's town hall, for which it was commissioned by the town's burgomasters. See *Gods, Saints & Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1980) p. 228–229, no. 63.

39 There is a red impression in the British Museum, and a blue one in Prague (Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 81 (no. 527)).

40 Hollar could easily have found prints of this famous battle for reference. See, for example, the 1620 print by an unknown engraver (Bayerisches Armeemuseum, Ingolstadt) reproduced in Rosalind K. Marshall, *The Winter Queen: the Life of Elizabeth of Bohemia 1596–1662* (Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh, 1998), p. 62 (plate 38).

41 A parhelion or 'sundog' is an astronomical phenomenon in which an apparent ice halo surrounding the sun makes it appear as if flanked by two brilliant lights, often

connected by an arch of light. See Gavin Pretor-Pinney, *The Cloudspotter's Guide* (London, 2007), pp. 217–218.

42 William Lilly, *The Starry Messenger, or, An Interpretation of that strange Apparition of three Suns seen in London, 19 Novemb. 1644, being the Birth Day of King CHARLES... (Printed at Oxford, upon his Majesties present March)* (London, Printed by Edward Griffin for Henry Fetherstone, 1648).

43 The nature and degree of cosmic influence in human affairs was a subject of intense debate in England at this time. For Civil War propaganda, see Ann Geneva, *Astrology and the Seventeenth-Century Mind: William Lilly and the Language of the Stars* (Manchester, 1995). For Lilly, a Parliamentarian astrologer/propagandist for Parliament who developed Royalist sympathies, see his own *William Lilly's History of his Life and Times...from the original ms (London, 1715)* (London, 1822); Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Burlington, 2004), pp. 164–167; and H. Rusche, '*Merlini Anglici*: astrology and propaganda from 1644 to 1651', *English Historical Review*, vol. 80 (1965), no. 315, pp. 321–333.

44 In Britain, some thought the comet warned against King James's attempts to marry Charles to a Spanish Catholic Princess, or was a heavenly comment on his execution of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1618. The king advised against trying to interpret its meaning in his poem, 'King James on the blazeing starr: Octo:28:1618' (Bodleian *MS Rawl.* Poet. 89, fol. 61r; British Library *MSS Harl.* 791, fol. 61r; *Harl.* 1221, fol. 75r; *Harl.* 608, fol. 19r).

45 2 *Kings* 9:20–24.

46 Arundel's heart was buried in the cloister of the Santo in Padua. See Howarth, *ibid.*, p. 8.

47 David Howarth, *op. cit.* (New Haven, 1985) pp. 209–210.

48 Like Hollar, van der Borcht was a refugee from the Bohemian conflict. He left his native Palatine when Imperial troops attacked it in response to Prince Frederick of the Palatine's acceptance of the Bohemian crown. Van der Borcht managed the Arundel collections, and, again like Hollar, recorded them in prints. See Jacqueline Burgers, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Seventeenth-Century Prints from the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam* (Alexandria, Virginia, 1994), pp. 139–140, no. 86. See also Cornelis Schut's *Assumption of the Virgin* ceiling painting (1647) for the cathedral of *Onze Lieve Vrouw*, Antwerp. Schut may well have been working on it at the same time as he designed this print.

49 Arundel was born on 7 July, 1585 (i.e. under the sign of Cancer) and died on 4 October, 1646 (under the sign of Libra). Libra is not visible, being behind the trumpeting figure of Fame, in the chariot.

50 *Lady with Flowers* (Pennington 1785), and *Lady with Cap and Muff* (Pennington 1791).

51 Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 292 (no. 1778–1803A, introduction).

52 Van Dyck's portrait is reproduced in Sir Oliver Millar, *The Age of Charles I: Painting in England 1620–1649* (Tate Gallery, 1972), p. 63, no. 87 (reprod. p. 62).

53 See Christopher Brown and Hans Vlieghe, *Van Dyck 1599-1641* (London, 1999), pp. 322-323, no. 98 (reprod. p. 323).

54 See Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 218-220.

55 Christopher Rowell, 'Reigning toasts: Portraits of beauties by Van Dyck and Dahl at Petworth', *Apollo*, vol. 157 (2003), pp. 39-47. See also Prof. Lisa Jardine's review (*The Times*, 31 January, 2009) of the Tate Gallery's 2009 exhibition, *Van Dyck and Britain*.

56 Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (New Haven, 2005), pp. 125-126.

57 'I remember he told me that when he first came into England (which was a serene time of peace) that the people, both poore and rich, did look cheerfully, but at his returne he found the Countenances of the people all changed, melancholy, spightfull, as if bewitched.' (John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Richard Barber (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 166).

58 Pennington, *ibid.*, p. 292, nos. 1778-1803A, introduction.

59 See Antony Griffiths with Robert A. Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603-1689* (British Museum, London, 1998), pp. 105-123. In their appendix (pp. 307-313), they identify eighty-three sets of similar prints.

60 Joseph Monteyne, 'Enveloping Objects: allegory and commodity fetish in Wenceslaus Hollar's personifications of the Seasons and fashion still lifes', *Art History*, vol. 29, no. 3 (June 2006), pp. 414-443, at p. 421.

61 'Winter' and 'Spring' were made in 1643; 'Summer' and 'Autumn' in 1644. In addition, Hollar made three sets of 'Seasons' represented by peasant life, or Strasbourg views. See Pennington, *op.cit.*, pp. 100-101 (nos. 618-621); pp. 101-102 (nos. 626-629); and p. 101 (nos. 622-265).

62 John Stowe, *Survey of London*, ed. Henry Wheately (London, 1987), pp. 97 and 169-170 (reference from Monteyne, *op.cit.*, p. 431, n. 45).

63 Griffiths and Gerard, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

64 Pennington nos. 614-617. One print from this set (the half-length figure of *Spring*, Pennington no. 614) is inscribed, 'London Printed & Sold by Peter Stent, at the Crowne in Giltspurr-street, Betweene Newgate & Pye Corner, A° 1644'.

65 Pennington 1946-1952A.

66 Pennington 1805, reproduced in Jacqueline Burgers, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Seventeenth-Century Prints from the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Rotterdam* (Alexandria, Virginia 1994), at p. 147, no. 93A.

67 For the sexual implications of Hollar's prints of fur and fur-clad women, see Joseph Monteyne, *op.cit.*

68 The muff banded in brocade (at upper left) reappears in other prints by Hollar: Pennington nos. 1946 and 1950.

69 Ms Tracy is unlikely to have bought so many furs, let alone costly lace. A sable muff might cost as much as £40. in mid-seventeenth-century England (Joan Thirsk,

Economic Policy and Projects: the Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England (Oxford, 1978), pp. 7–8 and 106–132, cited in Monteyne, *ibid.*, at p. 419, n. 16.

70 The van der Borcht etching was published in Joannes Bochius, *Description publicae gratulationis... Principis Ernesti Archiducis Austriae* (Antwerp, 1595), an account of the 1594 ceremonial entry of Ernest, Archduke of Austria (1553–1595) into Antwerp.

71 Pennington, *op.cit.*, pp. 89–90 (no. 561). Van der Borcht himself relied on drawings by Cornelis Floris II and Joos de Momper after the designs of Martin de Vos. See the auction sale catalogue for Christie's Sale 2178, *Splendid Ceremonies: the Paul and Marianne Gourary Collection of Illustrated Fête Books* (Christie's New York, June 12, 2009), lot 17.

72 '...quas Wenceslaus Hollar, Bohemus, ex maiori parte in ipsis locis ad vivas delinavit, caeterasque per alios delineari curauit'. (See Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 297, no. 1805.

73 Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 307, no. 1907.

74 The exception is 'Nobilis Mulier Anglica, in Vestitu Hyemali' (Pennington no. 1885A, inscribed in lower left corner, 'WHollar fecit 1649' and in lower right corner, 'An: Van Dycke inu'. According to Jacqueline Burgers, *op.cit.*, p. 150, no. 94B, the woman in 'Nobilis Mulier Anglica' ('An English Noblewoman', Pennington no. 1885) also represents 'Spring' in Hollar's three-quarter-length set of female 'Seasons' (Pennington no. 610).

75 Pennington, *op.cit.* pp. 295–297.

76 Pennington, *op.cit.* p. 297 (no. 1804).

77 Two drawings are in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin-Dahlem. Others are in the Springell collection in Portinscale, Keswick, U.K.

78 'I saw Mr. Hollar etching, & he laid on the water [i.e. 'aqua fortis' ('strong water'), the term then used for nitric acid] which cost him 4 s. [shillings] a pound & was not half of an hour eating. It bubled presently. He stirred it with a feather...he always Stirrs the Aqua with a feather.' (Richard Symonds, *Notebooks*, cited in Gillian Tindall, *The Man who Drew London* (London, 2002), at p. 94). Constant stirring ensured clean lines in the final etching.

79 Hollar's name appears in the 1644–1645 list of new guild members. See Ph. Rombouts and Th. van Lerius, *De liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, 2 vols., (Antwerp, 1961), vol. II, p. 157: 'Wenceslaus Hollar, plaetsnynder'.

80 Some of his plates were even acquired and published by Clement de Jonghe (1624/5–1679), Rembrandt's print publisher. See Pennington nos. 1261, 1558, 1618, and 1648.

81 Pennington, *op.cit.* p. 334 (nos. 2164–2175).

82 See Lee Hendrix, 'Natural History Illustration at the Court of Rudolf II', in Eliska Fucikova et al., eds., *Rudolf II and Prague: The Court and the City* (London, 1997), pp. 159–161.

83 Unfortunately, the mulberries planted were black mulberries (*M. nigra*) rather than

white mulberries, the type used to feed silkworms in China. Nicholas Geffe's translation of a leading French text on silkworm cultivation was readily available in London: Olivier de Serres, *The Perfect Use of Silkwormes, and their Benefit* (London, 1607).

84 See Howarth et al., *Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel: Patronage and Collecting in the Seventeenth Century* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1985), pp. 55–58.

85 Pennington, *op.cit.* p. 335 (no. 2175).

86 See Gwynedd H. Roberts's introduction to *A Schole-House for the Needle Produced from the Original Book Printed in 1632 and now in the Private Collection of John and Elizabeth Mason* (Much Wenlock, 1998); and *ibid.*, p. A2. The book was published by Richard Shorleyker in 1632, presumably in London. See also Mary M. Brooks, *English Embroideries of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries in the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 9–14 and 19–20.

87 Sophie Renouard de Bussierre, *Rembrandt eaux-fortes* (Petit Palais, Paris, 2006), p. 337, no. 133 (reprod. p. 338).

88 In August, 1641, John Evelyn bought 'some shells and Indian curiosities' from a shop in Amsterdam, and in February 1644 visited a Paris shop called 'Noah's Ark', where shells were sold among the 'curiosities artificial or natural'. (W. Bray, *The Diary of John Evelyn Esq., F.R.S., from 1641 to 1705–6. With memoir. Edited by Wm. Bray, Esq.* (London, 1890), cited in S. Peter Dance, *A History of Shell Collecting* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 13–14. See also Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: the Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 31.

89 John Evelyn took the Countess of Sunderland to see Mr. Charlton's collection at Middle Temple in London, where Evelyn especially admired 'his book of Birds, Fish: flowers, shells &c drawn & miniatured to the life, he told us that one book stood him in 300 pounds...' Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. de Beer (London, 1959), p. 856–857 (16 December, 1686).

90 As Patricia Fumerton has commented, natural history collectors also collected visitors. Catalogues of collections like those of John Tradescant and Robert Hubert might list the prestigious people who had supplied objects to the collection, or who had visited it (Marjorie Swann, *op.cit.*, pp. 9–11).

91 A table piled with shells is prominently displayed in a portrait of *John Tradescant the Younger with a Friend* (1645; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) attributed to Thomas de Critz (1607–1653).

92 According to Anne Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago, 2007), one Amsterdam tulip-bulb collector also owned over 2,000 shells, kept under lock and key. In 1604, the Dutch shell collector Jan Govertsen was portrayed with shells by Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), and in 1607 by Cornelisz. Cornelisz. (1562–1638). In Joachim Wtewael's *Perseus and Andromeda* (1611, Louvre), magnificent shells litter the foreground.

93 For Ogilby's career, see Marian Eames, 'The Fortunes and Fables of a Seventeenth-Century Virtuoso', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, vol. 65 (1961), pp. 73–88; and Katharine S. van Eerde, *John Ogilby and the Taste of his Times* (Folkestone, [1976]).

94 John Ogilby, *The Works of Publius Virgilius Maro* (London, Thomas Ratcliffe and Edward Mottershed for John Crook, 1649), in octavo.

95 Michel de Marolles, *Les oeuvres de Virgil* (Paris, 1649),

96 Pennington, *op. cit.*, p. 39 (no. 290–332).

97 Hollar contributed to eleven other prints. The rest were by Pierre Lombart and others. See Pennington, *ibid.*

98 Virgil, *Bucolics, Aeneid and Georgics of Virgil*, ed. J.B. Greenough (Boston, 1900), Book 6, lines 190–210.

99 See Pennington, *op.cit.*, pp. 51–52 (nos. 333–408G), for the complicated history of Ogilby's editions of Aesop's Fables and his own Aesopicks. Pennington suggests that the illustrations to the 1651 edition of Ogilby's Aesop translation may have been designed (but not executed) by Francis Cleyn, who signed the frontispiece print of Aesop surrounded by animals.

100 Cleyn's designs derive from Aegidius Sadeler's *Theatrum morum* (Prague, 1608), which in turn were inspired by Marcus Gheeraerdt the Elder's illustrations for a Dutch *Aesop* by E. de Dene (Bruges, 1567) See Pennington, p. 51–52, nos. 333–408G.

101 Mary Pritchard, 'Fables Moral and Political: the Adaptation of the Aesopian Fable Collection to English Social and Political Life, 1651–1722' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Western Ontario 1976), cited in Annabel Patterson, *Fables of Aesop: Aesopian Writing and Political History* (Durham, 1991), at p. 85. The 1651 quarto edition of Ogilby's *Aesop* was dedicated to Royalist Heneage Finch (1621–1682), and included a poem by the imprisoned Royalist poet William Davenant (1606–1668) written from the Tower of London in September 1651 (Patterson, *ibid.*).

102 Patterson, *op.cit.*, pp. 4 and 131–133.

103 See Patterson, pp. 5, 6, David George Hale, 'Intestine Sedition: The Fable of the Belly', in *Comparative Literature Studies*, vol. 5, pp. 377–388.

104 Unknown artist, *The Royall Oake of Brittayne (Oliver Cromwell)*, 1649 (National Portrait Gallery, London, no. NPG D 1322).

105 Oak apples are galls or tumours, which form on the leaves of European oaks to defend them against egg-laying wasps. For centuries, English people wore a sprig of oak on May 29 to commemorate the Restoration of the monarchy. 'The Royal Oak' remains one of the most popular pub signs in England.

106 Thomas Blount, *The compleat history of the most miraculous preservation of King Charles II, after the battle of Worcester, September the 3d, 1651* (London, 1660).

107 The swan is an appropriate Royalist, since most wild swans in England belong to the monarch - as Ogilby explains to his readers in a marginal note.

108 Fashion signaled political loyalties in mid-century England. In the spring of 1659, as negotiations for the Restoration were underway between Charles II and Parliament, Royalists felt emboldened to revert to their former dress. A London apprentice reported to Charles's minister Edward Hyde that 'those formerly called Cavaliers begin to appear in garbe fit for gentlemen...' (Antonia Fraser, *King Charles II* (London, 1979), p.173).

109 On Sunday, 7 October 1660, Pepys called at the house of his father (a tailor) to change his long cloak for a short one ('long cloaks being now quite out...'). Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews*, vol. 1 (Berkeley, 2000), p. 260; cited in Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (London, 2005), p. 225.

110 Ribeiro, *ibid.*, p. 229–231.

111 As the Stork tells the Swan, 'Your Loyal Pen not only merits Praise, / But some Preferment, well as Wind and Baies'. (Ogilby, *op.cit.*., p. 11). Ogilby also comments in his fable on what he sees as a decline in moral standards in Restoration literature. The Stork – who formerly 'hated' plays and preferred sermons, now spends evenings at the theatre, where girls dance as well as 'Nell' (Nell Gwynn, actress and mistress to Charles II). Ogilby's bitter feelings towards ex-Puritan theatre-goers are understandable. His own career as a theatrical impresario ended when the Parliamentarian regime closed theatres in 1642.

112 Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent London Printseller circa 1642–1665* (Vancouver, 1985), p. 22.

113 For example, Stent (and later Overton, his successor) published *A booke of Flowers Fruicts Beastes Birds and Flies exactly drawne*, with a title page signed with the monogram of Francis Delaram (1590–1627), who worked until 1624. See Globe, *op.cit.*, p. 140, no. 522.i.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

115 Hollar, *A Recumbent Lion, after Dürer*, 1645 (Pennington 2094); *A Stag Lying, after Dürer* (1649) (Pennington 2092), which Hollar reversed for his *A Stag Lying, after Dürer* (1649) (Pennington 2093); *A Hound Seated, after Dürer* (1649) (Pennington 2096). Both the stag prints, as well as Hollar's *A Lion Standing, after Dürer* (1649) (Pennington 2095) were based on Dürers in the Earl of Arundel's collection.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 139. See also T.H.Clarke, *The Rhinosceros from Dürer to Stubbs 1515–1799* (London, 1986), pp. 81–82.

117 Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zennan and Marjolein Leesberg, *The New Hollstein: Wierix Family Part X* (Rotterdam, 2004), p. 133, cat. nos. 2199/III and 2200/I. Wierix himself copied the horses from Johannes Stradanus (Jan van der Straet) (1523–1605).

118 Andrew Cunningham, 'The culture of gardens', in N. Jardine et al., eds., *Cultures of natural history* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 38–50, at p. 41, 47; and Thomasina Beck, *The Embroiderer's Flowers* (Newton Abbot, 1992), pp. 145–146.

119 For de Passe's *Hortus Floridus*, see Ilja M. Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny (1664–1670): A Century of Print Production (Studies in Prints and Printmaking*, ed. P. Fuhring, vol. 3, (Rotterdam, 2001), trans. Michael Hoyle.

120 *A Book of Flowers, Fruits, Beasts, Birds & Flies: Seventeenth-Century Patterns for Embroideries Printed and Sold by Peter Stent*, with an introduction by Cora Ginsburg and Donna Ghelerter (Austin, 1995), p. 5.

121 Arthur MacGregor, 'The King's Disport. Sports, Games and Pastimes of the Early

Stuarts', in Arthur MacGregor et al., *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories* (London, 1989), pp. 403–405, at p. 404.

122 See Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 326, no. 2082. Barlow's original drawing survives in the British Museum, as one of six Barlow drawings for the set (Pennington, *ibid.*, citing Edward Croft-Murray, *Catalogue of British Drawings, vol. XVI and XVII Centuries*, (2 vols.) (British Museum, London, 1960), 'Barlow 7–13'.

123 Pennington, *op.cit.* p. 329, no. 2119.

124 Gaywood made many copies of Hollar prints, working with him in the mid-1670s to illustrate Francis Sandford's *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England* (London, 1677). To ensure uniformity in that book's illustrations, Gaywood imitated Hollar's style – so successfully that some of his prints have been mistaken for Hollar's work. See Burgers, *op.cit.*, and Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 321, no. 2030.

125 A drawing by Hollar, dated 1634, survives for one of the prints in the set, *Fitting out a Hull* (Pennington 1264). See Burgers, *op.cit.*, pp. 127 and 130.

126 *Het Gezandtschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, an den grooten Tartarischen Cham* (Amsterdam, Jacob de Meurs, 1665). The book was dedicated to the administrators of the Dutch East and West India companies.

127 See Robert Markley, *The Far East and the English Imagination, 1600–1730* (New York, 2006), pp. 3–4 and 105–106.

128 Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. de Beer (London, 1959), p. 1060, 23 September, 1700.

129 Pennington, *op.cit.* p. 200, no. 1140. A fourth edition of the book was published in 1677.

130 Thomas Herbert, *A Relation of some yeares travaile, begunne Anno 1626* (London, 1634). He published a revised, enlarged version in 1638: *Some yeares travels into divers parts of Asia and Afrique: describing especially the famous empires, the Persian and great Mogull* (London, Printed by R. Bip for I.Blome and R. Bishop, 1638). Mrs. Elizabeth Pigott kindly transcribed the relevant section of this book for me from the copy in the National Library of Canada, Ottawa. See Pennington, *ibid.*

131 Instead, they resembled the exteriors of inverted waterlilies. See Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I. Structures. Reliefs. Inscriptions* (Chicago, 1953) for photographs of surviving architectural remains.

132 'Upon many of these white marble pillars the Storks have builded them their nests, where the rage of winde and weather is more offensive to them than any dreade they have of the people who inhabit neere them...the Persians have many superstitious stories concerning 'em, and suppose them (as elsewhere I have noted) the Emblems of piety and gratitude.' (pp. 143–146).

133 '....four strange beasts carved in stone – not such beasts as are in nature, but rather as issue from the poets' or fictors' brains...One...is like an elephant, and the second...is something like his opposite, a rhinoceros; the third is like unto a Pegasus...two of them have visages and long hair like men.' Thomas Herbert, *Thomas Herbert Travels in Persia 1627–1629, abridged and edited by Sir William Foster* (London, 1928), pp. 88–89.

134 *Ibid.*, p. 91. Hollar may also have read the description of cuneiform in Pietro Della Valle's *Les Fameux Voyages de Pietro Della Valle. Gentilhomme Romaine, surnommé l'Illustre Voyageur* (Paris, 1652), vol. III, pp. 308–309 (Pennington, *op.cit.*).

135 *Ibid.*, pp. 110–11. According to another account, the Earl persuaded Charles I to send someone. The unfortunate young artist was Nicholas Wilford.

136 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1668–1669* (London, 1894), p. 256 (March 1668/9).

137 Hollar's etching of the pirate attack (Pennington 1247) appeared in John Ogilby, *Africa: being an accurate description of the regions of Aegypt, Barbary, Libya, and Billedulgerid* (London, 1670).

138 Pennington *op.cit.* no. 1187.

139 The diarist Samuel Pepys, secretary to the Tangier Commission, recorded its failures in his Diary.

140 See Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 218 (no. 1276). The prints were included in the 1717 catalogue of H. Overton, the 1766 and 1786 lists of R. Sayer, and the 1795 catalogue of Laurie & Whittle.

141 For the history of the project, see Marion Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated* (Newark, 2002); pp. 18–22.

142 For Dugdale, see Marion Roberts, *op.cit.*, William Hamper, ed., *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, 8 vols. (London, 1827); and Anthony Wood, *Sir William Dugdale 1605–1686 a List of his Printed Works and of his Portraits with Notes on his Life and the Manuscript Sources* (Warwick, 1953).

143 Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 230 (no. 1392).

144 A second revised edition of William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated* (London, Thomas Warren, 1656) was published in Coventry in 1730, with illustrations printed from the original copperplates.

145 Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated*, (London, 1656), p. 73.

146 According to Marion Roberts, *op.cit.*, the painting survives at Arbury Hall, Warwickshire. However, a similar painting, described in the early nineteenth century as being at Pattshull Hall, Burnhill Green, South Staffordshire (in Rev. Richard Warner's *A Tour through the Northern Counties of England, and the Borders of Scotland* 2 vols. (Bath, 1802), vol. I, pp. 198–199), hangs at present-day Patteshull Hall, according to the Hall's website.

147 A collection of Warwick drawings by Sedgwick (Add.Ms. 71471) survives in the British Library (Roberts, *op.cit.*, pp. 23, 29).

148 *Ibid.*, pp. 321–323.

149 Joseph of Arimathea, a follower of Christ mentioned in all four Gospels of the New Testament, was thought to have built the first church at Glastonbury.

150 Roberts, *op.cit.*, pp. 49–50.

151 Sir John Marsham, who wrote an introduction to *Monasticon*, donated a view of Rochester with the comment 'Alas, we see the most august churches, and the stupendious monuments dedicated to the eternal God, than which nothing can be

more defaced, under the specious pretence of superstition, most filthily defiled, and expecting utter destruction' (*Ibid.*, p. 31).

152 For example, his *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652) was 'by Elias Ashmole, Esq., Qui est Mercuriophilus Anglicus'.

153 Ashmole, *ibid.*, (London, 1652), pp. 481–484.

154 In King's *The Cathedrall and Conventuall Churches of England and Wales Orthographically delineated by D.K.* (London, 1656). See Roberts, *op.cit.*, pp. 46 and 51–55.

155 Higgott, *ibid.*, pp. 171–190, at p. 182. For the cathedral's neglect, see Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*.

156 For example, they are extensively used in Carol Davidson Cragoe, 'Fabric, tombs and precinct 1087–1540, in Derek Keene et al., eds., *St. Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604–2004* (New Haven, 2004) pp. 127–142.

157 Roberts, *op.cit.*, pp. 87–89. The Tudor drawing of the spire was identified as Hollar's source by S. Rowland Pierce, 'A Drawing of a New Spire for Old St. Paul's, London', *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 42 (1963), pp. 128–31, pl. 21; and linked to John Revell, Elizabeth I's Surveyor of Works, in Gordon Higgott's 'The Fabric to 1670', in Keene et al., *op.cit.*, pp. 171–190, at p. 173, fig. 90.

158 For Barlow, see *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in Association with The British Academy: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000* (Oxford, 2004), vol. 3, pp. 927–32); Roberts, *op.cit.*, pp. 22, 101.

159 Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 178, no. 1017.

160 Sir William Dugdale, *The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale*, ed. William Hamper (London, 1827), p. 316.

161 Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65 B.C. - 8 B.C.), *Horace: Odes and Epodes, ed. and trans. Niall Rudd* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 162–163 (Ode 6, line 3); N. Rudd et al., *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book III* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 98–102.

162 Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 178 (no. 1017); M. Annaeus Lucanus (Lucan), *The Civil War [Pharsalia] Books I-X, with an English translation by J.D. Duff, M.A.* (Cambridge, 1957), lines 111–119; Roberts, *op.cit.*, p. 101. In 1657, historian Thomas May published *A continuation of the subiect of Lucans historicall poem, till the death of Iulius Caesar* (London, 1657), dedicating it to the exiled Charles II.

163 Higgott, *op.cit.*, pp. 171–190, at p. 181.

164 *Ibid.*, at p. 182, n.102, citing *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1650, p. 261. John Evelyn recorded in his diary entry for 30 May, 1649, that 'Unkingship was proclaimed, and his Majesty's statues thrown down at S. Paul's Portico and the Exchange.' (John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E.S. de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955), vol. II, p. 5)

165 '...that beautifull portico...now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining intire but the inscription in the architrave shewing by whome it was built, which had not one letter of it defac'd.' (John Evelyn, *ibid.*, vol. III, 448–449).

166 Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London* (London, 1716), p. 148.

167 For Robinson, see 'John Robinson', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 47, pp. 359–60.

168 Cragoe, *op.cit.*, in Derek Keene et al., eds., *op.cit.*, pp.127–142, at p. 139.

169 William Webb's 1657 report on the Chapter House is cited in Cragoe, *ibid.*, p. 183. Daylight shows through the south transept windows in an anonymous drawing of 1654–1666 (British Museum) (*ibid.*, p. 182, fig. 103).

170 David Underdown, *Royalist Conspiracy in England 1649–1660* (New Haven, 1960) (Yale Historical Publications, Studies 19), at pp. 236, 258, 279. The Earl, imprisoned in the Tower in 1654 and 1659 for his Royalism, visited The Hague to petition Charles II to return to England. For him see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 56, pp. 281–283.

171 W. Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's* (London, 1881); and W. Sparrow Simpson, *Documents Illustrating the History of S.Paul's Cathedral* (Camden Society, New Series 26 (London, 1880)), pp. 154–155.

172 Roberts, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

173 Katherine S. van Eerde, *Wenceslaus Hollar Delineator of His Time* (Charlottesville, 1970), p. 55.

174 John Evelyn, *Fumifugium* (London, [1772]), p. 19–20; Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, pp. 172–173.

175 William Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's*, pp. 172–3.

176 David J. Crankshaw, 'Community, City and Nation, 1540–1714', in Keene et al., eds., *op.cit.*, pp. 45–70, at p.64.

177 Higgott, *op.cit.*, p. 182; Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's* (London, 1658), pp. 173–174, 192.

178 Dugdale, *ibid.*, p. 173.

179 'The best sign of a temple in it is, that it is the thieves' sanctuary, which rob more safely in a crowd than the wilderness...' John Earle, bishop of Salisbury, *Microcosmography, or, Pieces of the World Discovered in Essays and Characters* (1628), chapter XLI, 'Paul's Walk' (cited in W. Sparrow Simpson, *op.cit.*, pp. 241–2). See also Thomas Dekker, *The Guls Horne-booke* (London, 1609), ed. C. Hindley (cited in W. Sparrow Simpson, *ibid.*, at p. 243–247).

180 See Roberts, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

181 For Philip Howard, see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* vol. 28, pp. 409–411.

182 The smaller plate instead appeared in Daniel King's *The Cathedrall and Conventuall Churches of England* (London, 1656) as by King; in the 1718 edition of *Monasticon*, and as a separate print sold by Overton.

183 Collins published *A Systeme of Anatomy, Treating of the Body of Man, Beasts, Birds, Fish, Insects, and Plants* (2 vols., folio) (London, 1685). For him, see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 12, pp. 731–732)

184 For the architecture of Old St. Paul's nave, see Carol Davidson Cragoe, op.cit., at p. 135.

185 Pindar, formerly James I's ambassador to Constantinople, was a Royalist who lost his fortune supporting Charles I. He was a dedicatee of a book (by one 'R.T.'), *De Templis: a Treatise of Temples* (London, 1638) advocating choir screens (John Newman, 'Laudian literature and the interpretation of Caroline churches in London', in D. Howarth, *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 168–188, at pp. 172–175). The façade of his fine London house survives in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

186 Dugdale, *History of St. Pauls* (1658), p. 160. St. Paul's was founded by King Ethelbert of Kent (c. 560–616).

187 Pennington, *op. cit.*, p. 179, no. 1024; the *Iliad* quotation is from Book I, lines 381–3.

188 Pennington, *ibid.* Henry's father succeeded Arundel's great-uncle Henry Howard as Earl of Nottingham in 1615.

189 John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster... written at first in the year MCXCVIII*, 2 vols., (London, 1720), vol. i. p. 649, cited in D. Keene et al., eds., *op.cit.*, p. 223.

190 In 1659, Hollar accompanied Ashmole to Windsor to draw the castle for it. See Pennington, *op.cit.* (no. 1072).

191 David J. Crankshaw, 'Community, City and Nation', in D. Keene et al., eds., *op.cit.*, pp. 45–70, at pp. 62–63.

192 According to Dugdale, Sir Paul Pindar had 'beautified the inner part [of the choir screen] with figures of Angells, and all the wainscote work of the Quire, with excellent carving; viz of Cherubins and other Imagery, richly gilded, adding costly suits of Hangings for the upper end thereof.' (Dugdale, *History of St. Pauls Cathedral* (London, 1658), p. 160. Dugdale was uncertain whether the choir wood was removed (like the scaffolding) to pay Parliamentarian troops (*ibid.*, p. 173).

193 Crankshaw, *op.cit.*, at p. 61.

194 F. J. Furnivall, ed., *Harrison's Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth. Part IV. The Supplement, 2* (London, 1908), p. 202; cited in Ian Spink, 'Music, 1600–1800', in D. Keene et al., *op.cit.*, pp. 312–316, at p. 392. An official ordinance of 1644, banning the playing of organ music in church services, ordered 'the speedy demolishing of all organs, images, and all matters of superstitious monuments.' (Christopher Dearnley, *English Church Music 1650–1750 in Royal Chapel, Cathedral and parish church* (Studies in Church Music) (London, 1970), p.157) For the history of St. Paul's organs, see Nicholas Plumley & Austin Niland, *A history of the organs in St. Paul's Cathedral* (Oxford, 2001).

195 Roberts, *op.cit.*, p. 97, n. 122.

196 Dugdale, *History of St. Pauls*, (1658) introduction (unpaged). In 1640, monuments in Canterbury Cathedral had been vandalized in a riot (Roberts, *ibid.*, p. 34).

197 Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's* (1716), p. xxii.

199 Thomas Dekker, in *The Gul's Horn-book* (London, 1609), recommended visiting it.

(W. Sparrow Simpson, *Chapters in the History of St. Paul's* (London, 1881), p. 248). See Roger Bowdler and Ann Saunders, 'The Post-Reformation Monuments', in D. Keene et al., *op.cit.*, pp. 269–392, at pp. 269–70.

199 Dugdale, *ibid.*, p. 48.

200 Bowdler and Saunders, *op.cit.*, p. 269.

201 Pennington, *op.cit.* p. 347, no. 2277.

202 Izaak Walton, *The Lives of Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert* (4th ed.) (London, 1675), pp. 71–72, 77; and Nigel Foxell, *A Sermon in Stone: John Donne and his monument in St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1978), pp. 2–3.

203 Donne did not believe in a resurrection of the soul, because, being eternal, souls did not die (Donne, *LXXX Sermons preached by that learned and reverend divine, Iohn Donne, Dr. in Divinity, Late Deane of the Cathedrall Church of S.PAULS London* (London, 1640), p. 183, 'Easter Day Sermon preached at St. Paul's' (1624).

204 The missing portrait was recorded in a 1633 engraving by Martin Droeshout (National Portrait Gallery, London, no. D25948).

205 Christians were traditionally buried facing east, to face Christ at the Second Coming. (*Ibid.*, p. 8).

206 John Aubrey, *Brief Lives: A modern English version edited by Richard Barber* (Woodbridge, 1982) pp. 20–24: 'William Aubrey'.

207 In 1653, Backhouse imparted to Ashmole the great secret of the Philosopher's Stone, which both men believed could turn base metal to gold. See Sir Leslie Stephen et al., eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1917), vol. I, pp. 792–93 ('William Backhouse'); and *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* vol. 3, pp. 111ff.

208 Higgott, *op.cit.*., at pp. 183–186. Stephen Porter, *The Great Fire of London* (Stroud, 2009), pp. 39–40; W.G. Bell, *The Great Fire of London in 1666* (London, 1920), p. 325.

209 Evelyn, *Diary*, p. 498 (7 September, 1666).

210 Dugdale's grandson explained, '...at the Fire at *London*, Five of the principal Plates were lost in the Hurry, that could never be recover'd by his Grandfather' ('To the Reader', preface to Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1716).

211 Evelyn, *op.cit.* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 495–496.

212 Pepys, *op.cit.*, vol. VII (1666), pp. 271–272.

213 James W.P. Campbell, *Building St. Paul's* (London, 2007), p. 24.

214 Lucan, *op.cit.*, Book 9, line 969.

215 Evelyn, *Diary*, p. 499 (7 September, 1666).

216 *Ibid.*, p. 498 (7 September, 1666).

217 Pennington 1002.

218 *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic. Charles II. 1666–1667*, , ed. M.A. Everett Green et al., (London, 1860–1949), pp. 111, 228, and 256.

219 A second edition of Hollar's 'Long View', dating from 1661, is well reproduced in Burgers, *op.cit.*, pp. 82–89, no. 46.

220 Peter Whitfield, *London: A Life in Maps* (British Library, London, 2006). See, for example, the so-called 'Agas Map' of Elizabethan London (*ibid.*, pp. 38–39; British Library Maps I/8). Printed in the 1630s, it was based on a map of some seventy years earlier. See also the 'Visscher Map' (British Library Maps 162.o.1).

221 The rare Norden panorama is now known from a single surviving copy in the Royal Library at Stockholm. See Whitfield, *op.cit.*, pp. 42–43.

222 The south transept of St. Paul's appears with Inigo Jones's renovations – including volutes – completed in 1642. See Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 176 (no. 1014), citing Irene Scouloudi, *Panoramic views of London 1600–1666* ([London], 1953).

223 Pennington, *ibid.*.

224 The Earl of Arundel escorted the princess to her new home in Holland. He remained abroad, contributing financially to the royal cause but ignoring Charles I's summons to return (Howarth, *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, p. 21, no. 11).

225 The finest Dutch topographical collection of the period, Laurens van Hem's, survives in Vienna's National Library. For Dutch sea atlases, see A. Dondertman, *Plotting the oceans: Dutch sea atlases of the seventeenth century* (Toronto, [2000]).

226 As Pennington noted (*ibid.*), a tiny asterisk in the upper right corner of this vignette corresponds with the asterisk in the view above the dedication, indicating where they connect.

227 He escaped to the Isle of Wight in November, 1647.

228 Lisa Jardine, *On a Grander Scale: the outstanding career of Sir Christopher Wren* (London, 2002), p. 227.

229 Such coaches were normally vehicles for the wealthy. On 26 February,1666, Samuel Pepys congratulated himself on riding to Windsor in one (Pepys, *op.cit.*, vol. VII, p. 57).

230 Lisa Jardine, *op.cit.* (London, 2002), pp. 128–130.

231 Hollar's *Windsor Castle* (Pennington 1074) is inscribed 'Christophr Wren delineavit, W. Hollar fecit 1667' (Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 190).

232 Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, cited in Katherine S. van Eerde, *op.cit.*, (Folger Shakespeare Library, 1970), at p. 100.

233 John Evelyn, *op.cit.*, ed. E.S. de Beer, p. 507.

234 The silver, a high-priority target for the Parliamentarians, may have been melted down to pay their troops. See Ronald Lightbown, 'Charles I and the Art of the Goldsmith', in Arthur MacGregor, ed., *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories* (London, 1989), pp. 233–255, at p. 254.

235 Ashmole, *Order of the Garter* (1672), pp. 483 and 497–98.

236 Luke 24: 30–31.

237 It was acquired by Louis XIV and inventoried at Versailles by Charles Le Brun in

1683. See Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian, vol. I The Religious Paintings* (London, 1969), pp. 161–162, no. 143.

238 See John Newman, 'Laudian literature and the interpretation of Caroline churches', in David Howarth, ed., *Art and patronage in the Caroline courts: Essays in honour of Sir Oliver Millar* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 168–188. This placement of the communion table raised theological issues. Some Protestants considered it a 'superstitious' practice that rendered the table an 'altar', i.e. too Catholic.

239 William Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (London, 1646), p. 466.

240 Pepys, *op.cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 57–58 (26 February, 1666).

241 See Daniel Mytens, *Charles I in Garter Robes* (1632), painted for the Earl of Wentworth, later Lord Strafford; and Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I*, 1632 (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), reproduced in Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., et al., eds., *Van Dyck Paintings* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1990) at p. 259, fig. 1.

242 For Charles I's Garter activities, see Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992), pp. 219–22. The king's last recorded act was to take his 'George' off and give it to a bishop, telling him, 'Remember'.

243 Bishop Juxon (1582–1663), who attended Charles I at his execution, was forbidden to use the Book of Common Prayer. As he refused to use anything else, the interment took place in silence. See Lois Potter, 'The royal martyr in the Restoration', in Thomas N. Corns, ed., *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 240–262, at p. 241.

244 Ashmole, *Order of the Garter* (London, 1672), p. 196.

245 Pepys, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, p. 82 (23 April, 1660).

246 John Ogilby, *The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II, in his Passage through the city of London to his Coronation* ([London]: Printed [by Thomas Roycroft] for Richard Mariot, and Thomas Dring, and are to be sold at their shops in Fleet-Street, MDCLXII [1662]. Ashmole supplied the 'brief narrative'.

247 A sheet of six rows from Hollar's coronation procession for Ogilby's *Entertainment* (1662) (Pennington 574), cut into twelve fragments, survives in the British Museum: B.M. no. 1871, 1209.2484...2495.

248 'The Bishops came next after the Barons, which is the higher place; which makes me think that the next parliament they will be called to the House of Lords.' (Pepys, *op.cit.*, p. 82. In fact, he got the order wrong, probably because he was using an erroneous printed source as a reference. See *ibid.*, p. 82, note 7.

249 Evelyn, *op.cit.*, p. 420.

250 Pepys, *op.cit.*, p. 82.

251 Pepys, *op.cit.*, p. 83.

252 Pepys, *ibid.*, p. 88.

253 Nehemiah Grew's illustrated catalogue of the Royal Society's collection, *Musæum Regalis Societatis* (London, 1681), demonstrates the traditional 'curiosity' nature of the collection. See Marjorie Swan, *op.cit.*, at p. 88.

254 'Nullius addictus iudicare in verba magistri'.

255 Sprat, *History of the Royal Society* (London, 1667).

256 William Albert, *The Turnpike Road System in England 1663–1840* (Cambridge, 1972), and J.A. Bennett, *The Divided Circle: A History of Instruments for Astronomy, Navigation and Surveying* (Oxford, 1987).

257 Ogilby addressed 'Queries' to the Royal Society in preparation for *Britannia*, seeking information about everything from rich pastures to 'Houses of Nobility and Gentry' and 'Roman Ways & Stations, Coyns and Monuments etc'. *Britannia* was not simply a practical itinerary enabling people to move about the country. (Pennington, *op.cit.*, p. 401, no. 2681).

258 Pennington, *op.cit.*, 'The life of Hollar', p. xliii.

University of Toronto Library, 2010 $20.00